Walker's *Anarchia Anglicana*:

OR,

THE HISTORY OF INDEPENDENCY.

Adams 7.64.64'

WITH

Obſervations Hiſtoricall and Politique upon this preſent PARLIAMENT,

Begun { *Anno* 16. CAROLI *Primi.* / *Annoq; Domini*, 1640.

TOGETHER WITH

The Riſe, Growth, and Practiſes of that powerfull and reſtleſſe FACTION.

By THEODORUS VERAX.

Clement Walker M.P. see Carlyle's Cromwell 1.392. 3rd Edition

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THE FIRST PART.

POLIB.

Hiſtorici eſt: Ne quid falſi, audeat dicere:
Ne quid veri non audeat.

HORAT. *Spe, Metúque procul.*

Printed in the Year, M. DC. XL. VIII.

96.295

To my dread Soveraigne.

Royall Sir,

Ou have drunk deep in the Cup of affliction, and we all have Pledged you; it is wholsome, though bitter: but let us pray to God to remove this Cup in time, for the dregs and lees are poyson. You have learned by overwinding the strings of authority, how to tune the People of this Monarchy without breaking their patience hereafter. Most Princes desire unlimited power, which is a saile too great for any Vessel of mortallity to bear; though it be never so well Ballasted with Justice, Wisdome, Moderation, and piety, yet one flarb or other wil indanger the

over-ſetting it. Thoſe Common-wealths are moſt ſtable and pleaſing where the State is ſo mixed, *that every man (according to his degree and capacity) hath ſome* intereſt *therein to content him.* The KING Soveraigne Command and Power: The Nobility and Gentry, a derivative Authority and Magiſtracy, *and* all enjoy their Lawes, Liberties, and Properties. *God hath curſed him that removeth the Bound-marks of his Neighbour: this is a comprehenſive Curſe, Kings inlarging their Prerogatives beyond their limits, are not excepted from it. You may be pleaſed to take heed therefore of two ſorts of men, moſt likely to miſ-lead you in this point. Ambitious Lawyers, who teach the Law to ſpeake, not what the Legiſlators meant, but what you ſhall ſeem to deſire: To avoid this ſnare, ſuffer your Parliament to nominate 3 men for every Judges place, out of which you may pleaſe to chuſe one, as in pricking of Sheriffs. For it is the people that are ob-*

noxious

noxious to their wickednesse: you are above the reach of their malice. The second sort is Parasiticall Divinesse: These Ear-wigs are alwaies hovering in Princes Courts hanging in their eares. They take upon them to make Princes beholding to their violent wresting of the text, to bestow upon them whatever Prerogative the Kings of Iuda and Israel used or usurped; as if the Judicials of Moses were appointed by God for all Common-wealths, all Kings: as a good Bishoprick or Living is fit for every Priest that can catch it. These men having their best hopes of preferment from Princes, make Divinity to be but Organon Politicum, an instrument of Government: and harden the hearts of Princes, Pharaoh-like: Kings delight to be tickled by such venerable, warrantable flattery. Sir, you have more means to prefer them then other men, therefore they apply themselves more to you then other men doe. Tu facis hunc Dominum, Te facit ille Deum.

The King makes the poor Prieſt a Lord; and rather then he will be behind with the King in courteſie, he will flatter him above the condition of a Mortall, and make Him a God-Royall. Sir, *permit me to give you this Antidote againſt this Poyſon; let an Act be paſſed*, That all ſuch Divines, as either by Preaching, VVriting, or Diſcourſing, ſhall advance your Prerogative & Power above the known Laws and Liberties of the Land, Forfeit all his Eccleſiaſticall preferments *ipſo facto*, and be incapable ever after, and for ever baniſhed your Court. *But above all, learn to truſt in your judgment:* Plus aliis de te quam tu tibi credere noli: *God hath inabled you to remember things paſt, to obſerve things preſent, and by comparing them together, to conjecture things to come; which are the three parts of wiſdome that will much honour and advantage you: God keep your Majeſty, ſo praies*

Your humble Subject,

THEOPH. VERAX.

To his Excellency Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX, *and the* ARMY *under his Command.*

MY Lord and Gentlemen, I have here by way of *preparation* laid open to your view, thoſe *ulcers* which you have undertaken to *cure*, *viz.* The 2 *factions in Parliament*, Authors of *ſchiſmes* and *diviſions* in the *two Houſes*, from whence they are derived to the whole Kingdom, to *the obſtructing of juſtice*, and of *the eſtabliſhment* of our *Laws*, *Rights*, *Liberties*, and *Peace*; *the enſlaving of the Parliament* it ſelf, and *the dilapidating of the publique Treaſure*: whereby the *whole Kingdome* may be *enfrachiſed*, *ſecured*, *and united*: and *the* King *and His Poſterity ſetled in His due Rights*. Which is the ſum of all your undertakings in your many reiterated *Papers*, I confeſſe a *Herculean* labour, and far beyond his clenſing of the *Augean* Stable, That was performed *by an Arme of Fleſh*, This cannot be *effected without an extraordinary calling* (for *ordinary calling thereto* you have none; and God ſeldome bleſſeth a man *out of his calling*) and though an *heroick heat and Zeale* may go far, yet *it will tire many miles on this ſide the work*, *unleſſe it be blown and inſpired with divine breath*. And as *Alchymiſts* ſay of the *Philoſophers Stone*, ſo I of this work (which is the *Philoſophers Stone* in our *Engliſh Politicks*) *It cannot be effected but by a man of wonderfull and unſpotted integrity and innocency*; *free from all fraud*, *ſelf-ſeeking*, *and partiality*. In order to this great work you have already begun to ſift and winnow *the Houſe of Commons* by *charging* 11 *Presbyterian Grandees*: who, if they be proved *guilty*, muſt needs have their *counterpanes equally faulty*, even

to

to a ſyllable, in the oppoſite *Junto* of *Independents*: for when *two Factions* ſhall conſpire to toſſe and keep up the *golden ball* of *Government*, *profit* and *preferment* between them, neither can be innocent; unleſſe therefore you apply your corraſive to one ulcer as well as the other; you will never work a compleat cure, *Nor will be free from ſcandall and appearance of faction or deſigne* (that I may uſe your own words) *to weaken only one Party* (under the notion of unjuſt or oppreſſive) *that you may advance another more then your own.* Beſides it is obſerved, that you ſpeak but coldly to have *the Publique Accounts of the Kingdome Stated*; putting it off with a wiſh onely, as if you did ſecretly fear what the Presbyterians openly ſay, *that the Independents are guilty of more Millions then their Party*: your own words are, *We could wiſh the Kingdome might both be righted and publiquely ſatisfied in point of Accounts for the vaſt ſums that have been Leavied: as alſo in many other things, &c. But we are loath to preſſe any thing that may lengthen diſputes.* Are ſo many Millions to be curſorily paſſed over without diſpute? were they not the bloud and teares of the exhauſted people, and the milk of their Babes? are they not like *Achans* wedge amongſt us? would it not much eaſe the people of their burthens, and go far in the payment of Souldiers and Publique debts, to have both the KING's and the *Parliaments ſponges* (of what Party and Profeſſion ſoever) ſqueezed into the Common Treaſury whenſoever the Common-wealth ſettles? Review this clauſe well, and as the Parliament hath altered ſome Votes for you, ſo do you alter this clauſe for the people; who long not only to ſee the Kingdome, but alſo our new-made Gentlemen *in ſtatu quo prius*. Gentlemen, you that will give counſel will take it, without offence, againſt him that dares lay as good claime to juſtice and honeſty as your ſelves.

Repreſentation. p.6. §.2.

Pag.14. §.7.

THEODORUS VERAX.

To the un-byaſſed Reader.

You that are byaſſed with ſelf-reſpects *I write not to, you have your Aimes; and you Ends (before you are aware, like Shot, not feared till felt) will come upon you. To the* upright in heart, *though* miſled in judgment, *I ſpeak: Conſider how by a* prevaricating number of Grandees *our* firſt principles *are altered; our* Religion into Schiſme, *and* hypocriticall profaneneſſe; *inſomuch that* the Lords Supper *is now almoſt every where* diſcontinued, *for want of (I know not what) imaginary* Utopian holineſſe; *The* Creed, Lords Prayer, *and* Ten Commandements *(the inſtruments of* faith, hope, charity, *teaching*, Omnia credenda, ſperanda & facienda) *left out of the* Directory. *Thus much for* Religion.

Our known Lawes *(being the* ſecond Principle *held out to the People by* the Nationall Covenant, *and many* Declarations) *are turned into* Arbitrary, emergent, and up-ſtart Orders and Ordinances *of Parliament; every day riſing, and every day withering like Muſhromes. So that we are now governed* Jure vago & incerto, *by a leaden* Lesbian rule, *to which we cannot ſquare our obedience and actions, but muſt ſtay till the* Grandees *that guide the Legiſlative* power of Parliament *make application of them to our actions. A great miſery.*

The third Principle *is our* Liberties. *What is become of them, this little* Treatiſe *will tell you, as alſo of our* Properties.

perties. *But ſtay! methinks I hear men ſay, That the clamour and danger mutining at the Parliament dore theſe two laſt Weeks, hath humbled our* Grandees, *and made them ſeek the Lord with* Faſting and Prayer. *I anſwer, Let me tell you what ſucceeded in the* Houſe of Commons, *when a* Letter *and* Declaration *from the* Army *being tendred to be read, ſome of the* Grandees *Anſwered*, That if they ſhould read thoſe Demands, they might chance to find them of that nature, as they can neither with juſtice deny them, nor with honour grant them, becauſe it was not honourable for them to doe their duty upon admonition of their Army, being but their Servants, and would ſavour of compulſion. *To prevent this, they reſolved to take into conſideration freely, and of their owne accord, the* Grievances *which ſcandalized the people. They went therefore upon 3 Heads:*

1. The ſelf-denying Ordinance. *Upon which they Voted (as they ſaid by a Preparatory Vote onely)* That all Members holding any Offices, Grants, or Places by conceſſion of the Parliament, ſhall account for, and pay in the profits thereof to the Grand Committee of Accounts. *This I conceive (under favour of the Grandees, who poſſeſſe thoſe Places, and contrived this Vote) to be a meer diluſory Order: For who can beleeve that ſuch ſelf-ſeeking men, as all men know them to be, will execute thoſe Offices for nothing, and pay in, to the uſe of the State, their profits? Beſides, it is apparent how ſubſervient to theſe* Grandees, *their owne creatures*, the Committee of Accounts *are.*

2. *They Voted*, That no Money hereafter ſhould be given to any Member in compenſation or recompence of his Loſſes, untill the Publique Debts be paid. *Here the Grandees were in earneſt, becauſe their own turns are already*

already ſerved, and the loſſe and inconvenience of this Vote falls onely upon the much contemned middle or moderate Members.

3. *They appointed a Committee to conſider how to take off the Grievance ariſing from ſuch Members as abuſing the Priviledge of Parliament, refuſe to pay their debts.*

Proh Superi! quantum mortalia pectora cæcæ
Noctis habent; Ipſo ſceleris molimine Tereus
Creditur eſſe pius; laudémque à crimine ſumit.

Let not the Grandees be offended, that I diſcover thoſe ſickneſſes which they labour to cover; Ante morbos, neceſſe eſt, cognitos eſſe quàm remedia eorum. *God onely can be the* Æſculapius *and cure them. But I am afraid they deſire rather a ſlight ſuppurating, then a perfect cure*; *and that they pray rather to hide, then help their evils.*

——Da fallere, juſtum, ſanctúmque videri,
Noctem peccatis, & fraudibus objice nubem.

If this be their condition, quos perdere vult Jupiter, hos dementat; quos tueri vult, ſuſcitat. *I have done my duty even in this generation*, quando dicere quod nolo miſerum, quod volo & debeo periculoſum, *I leave the ſucceſſe to God, reſting*,

Thine,

THEODORUS VERAX.

The Myſtery of the Two *Junto's*,

PRESBYTERIAN and INDEPENDENT.

THE Kingdome being overgrown with *Prerogative*, *Corruption*, and *Superſtition*, (the fruits of a long and lazie peace) by a long diſcontinuance of Parliaments: At laſt by Providence His Majeſty was neceſſitated to call a Parliament, the onely Colledge of Phyſitians to purge the much diſtempered body of the Common-wealth. 1.

In this Parliament, a conteſt between the *King's Prerogative*, and the *Peoples Laws* and *Liberties* begat a War. The *Divines* on both ſides, out of their Pulpits, ſounding Alarme thereto: and not only *Sermons*, but *Declarations of Parliament*, and *the Nationall Covenant*, holding forth to the people the *defence of Religion*, *Laws*, *Liberties*, and *Properties*, inflamed the people to the rage of battell, as the Elephant is inraged at the ſight of *red*. This War occaſioned extraordinary Taxes and leavies of money, ſuch as were never heard of by our Anceſtours, and were *Irritamenta malorum*, the nurſe of our Corruptions. 2.

This incentive working upon the humane frailty of the ſpeaking and leading Members of the Houſes, cauſed them firſt to interweave their particular intereſts & ambitions with the publick; and laſtly, to prefer them before the publick. 3. Grandees.

Wherefore the ſaid *leading men* or *Grandees* (for that is now Parliament language) Firſt divided themſelves into *two Factions* or *Junto's*, PRESBYTERIANS and INDEPENDENTS; ſeeming to look onely upon *the Church*, but (*Religion* having the 4. Factions.

ſtrongeſt operation upon the ſpirit of man) involved the intereſts of the Common-wealth.

5. The common people of the two Houſes following (with an implicite faith and blind obedience) the example of their Leaders, divided themſelves alſo into the ſaid *Dichotomy*; which they did with more ſerioufneſſe then their Leaders, as not perceiving any thing of deſigne therein: But according to the diverſity of their judgments, or rather fancies and confidings (for to reſigne a mans judgment to the opinion of another man is but a ſilly truſt and confidence) ſtudied the upholding of their parties with earneſtneſſe; whilſt the *Grandees* of each party in private cloſe together for their own advancement, ſerving one anothers turn.

6. The *Grandees* (in all publique Debates) ſeem as reall in their reciprocall oppoſitions, as thoſe ſilly ones who are in earneſt, whereby they cheriſh the zeale of their reſpective Parties, keep them ſtill divided, (*Divide & impera* is the Devils rule) and ſo amuſe them, and take them off from looking after other Intereſts, in which, were they conjoyned, they might ſhare with the *Grandees* themſelves: and for the better contentment of ſuch their *Confidents* as look too intentively after their own gain, the *Grandees* of each *Junto* confer ſomething of advantage upon thoſe that are ſubſervient to them, as five pounds a Week, or ſome petty imployment.

7. The ſeeds of theſe *factions* ſpread themſelves into the Common-wealth and Armies, as rheume diſtils from the head into all the body.

8. Monopolizing profits and preferments. Thus the leading men or Bel-weathers having *ſeemingly divided themſelves*, and having *really divided the Houſes*, and captivated their reſpective Parties judgment, teaching them by an Implicite faith, *Jurare in verba Magiſtri*, to pin their opinions upon their ſleeves; They begin to advance their Projects of Monopolizing the profits, preferments, and Power of the Kingdome in themſelves. To which purpoſe, though the Leaders of each Party ſeem to maintain a hot oppoſition, yet when any profit or preferment is to be reached at, It is obſerved that a powerfull *Independent* eſpecially moves for a *Preſbyterian*: or a leading *Preſbyterian* for an *Independent*: and ſeldom doth one oppoſe or ſpeak againſt another, in ſuch caſes, unleſſe ſomething of particular ſpleen or competition

competition come between, which causeth them to break the common Rule. By this means the *Grandees* of each Faction seldome misse the mark, since an *Independent*, moving for a *Presbyterian*, his reputation carries the businesse clear with the *Independent party*: and the *Presbyterians* will not oppose a leading man of their own side. By this artifice the *Grandees* of each side share the Common-wealth between them: And are now become proud, domineering *Rehoboam's*, even over the rest of their fellow-Members, contrary to the liberty of Parliament, (which consists in an equality) that were formerly fawning, ambitious *Absaloms*.

There hath been lately given away to Members openly (besides innumerable and inestimable private cheats mutually connived at) at least 300000l. in Money; besides rich Offices, Imployments in money Committees, Sequestrations, and other advantages. And those Members who have so well served themselves under colour of serving the Publique, are, for the most part, old Canvasers of Factions, who have sate idlely and safely in the House watching their advantages to confound businesses, and shuffle the Cards to make their owne game, when others that have ventured their persons abroad, labour'd in the publick work like *Israelites* under these *Ægyptian Task-masters*, and lost their Estates, are left to starve, untill they can find relief in that empty Bag called by Fools *Fides publica*, by wise men *Fides punica*. And are now looked upon in the House superciliously, like unwelcome guests, (for it is known how malignantly and how juglingly *Writs for new Elections* were granted and executed) and called *younger Brothers*, and like younger Brothers they are used: their elder Brothers having slipped into the world before them, and ancipitated the inheritance; they have broken first into the common field, and shut the dore to prevent after commers even from gleaning after their full harvest. For the better effecting whereof they have now morgaged, in effect, all the meanes they have to raise money, unto the City. And being themselves fat and full with the publique Treasure, to expresse rather their scorn then care, they are making an Ordinance, *That no more Money shall be given to their Members*: And yet to shew how carefull they are of all such as have *cheated* the Common-wealth *under them*, I

will

will not say *for them*, They have taken advantage of the Petition of the Army; wherein *they desired Indempnity for all Acts done in Relation to the Warre.* And have passed an Ordinance of Indempnity for all such, as have acted *by authority* and for the *service* of the Parliament, wherein, under great penalties, and with an appeale at last from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament, such as have gone beyond the authority given by Parliament, and sequestred men unjustly, and so withheld their goods under pretence thereof, and such as have leavied Taxes three or four times over, are quit from private actions: and the benefit of Law and Justice taken from the Oppressed, to secure *Countrey Committees, Sequestrators*, and others (not *Prerogative*, but *Legislative*) *Thieves*; contrary to *Magna Charta*, which saies, *Nulli negabimus, nulli differemus justitiam, aut rectum*, We will deny, nor defer justice and right to no man. Oh prodigious acts, and of greater tyranny then any King ever durst adventure upon! What is become of our *Nationall Covenant* and the Parliaments many *Declarations* for *defence of Lawes and Liberty*? Or have we fought our *liberty* into *slavery*? By these devices the *honest middle men* of the House (whose consciences will not let them joyne in any Faction to rend the Common-wealth in sunder) are out of all possibility of repaire, and made contemptible as well by their owne wants, as the pride of the Grandees: and in the end, their poverty will inforce them to leave the sole possession of the House to these *thriving Junto men*, who do beleaguer them therein, making them (for farther addition to their losses) pay all Taxes, from which the thriving men go free: so that the poorer part of the House payes tribute to the richer. Nay, it is farther whispered, that at last the *Junto men* will quit the Parliament Priviledge of not being sued, purposely to leave these younger Brothers to the mercy of their Creditors, and disable them to sit in their House.

10. Committees of the Houses.

Another ambitious ayme of those *Junto men*, is, their device of referring all businesses of moment *to Committees*. For the active speaking men by mutuall agreement naming one another of every Committee (or at least their confident Ministers) do thereby *forestall and intercept* the businesses of the House, and under colour of examining and preparing matters, they report them to the House with

with what *glosses, additions, detractions,* and *advantages* they please, whereby the *House (judging according to their report)* oftentimes mis-judgeth, and *if it be a business they are willing to smother,* the *Committees* have infinite *artificiall delaies* to put it off, and *keep it from hearing,* or at least, from *reporting.* By this meanes the *remaining part of the House* are but *Cyphers to value,* and *Suffragans to ratifie what is fore-judged by the said Committees.*

This usurpation of theirs is much helped *by keeping the Dores of their Committee Rooms shut,* and dispatching all affaires privately and in the dark: whereas *justice* delights in the *light,* and ought to be as publique as the common ayre, it being against its nature to be *chambred* up and kept from the observation of eye, and ear-Witnesses.

And by their *examining men against themselves,* contrary to *Magna Charta,* they much inlarge their power.

Part of this project we may well call the *multiplicity of Money Committees,* as *Gold-smiths-hall, Haberdashers-hall,* the *Committee of the* KING'S *Revenues, Committee of the Army, &c.* Where every mans *profit* and *power* is according to his *cunning* and *conscience.* Hereby they draw a generall dependency after them, for *he that commands the Mony, commands the Men:* these *Committeemen* are so powerfull that they over-awe and over-power their *fellow-Members,* contrary to the nature of a *free Parliament;* wherein the equality of the Members must maintain the freedom and integrity thereof, and suppresse Factions. 11. Money Committees.

The like may be said of such *Members as* (in scorn of the *self-denying Ordinances) hold Offices by gift or connivence* of the Parliament; either *openly* in their own name, or *secretly* in the name of some friend. Their *Offices* inabling them to doe *courtesies* and *dis-courtesies.* And although there hath been a *Committee* appointed *to certifie all Pensions, Sequestrations, Offices, Imployments of advantage and profits conferred by the Parliament upon any their Members,* in which Committee Master *Sands* holdeth the Chaire; yet is this meerly a formallity to blind the eyes of the world, and foole the expectation of some losing Members, who were then resolute to know who had already received satisfaction for their *losses,* and how far they had outrun their fellow-Members therein. Yet this Committee is now let fall, no *reports* demanded 12. Members holding Offices, &c.

of Mr *Sands*: and when any is to be made, they are not unprovided of a means to make it fruitleſſe, by putting every particular to debate: well knowing that no man will be willing to argue againſt the particular perſons and merits of his fellow-Members, and therby heap *envy upon his own head*; beſides the delay of a *particular Debate*.

13. Country Committees.

How frequently the *Country Committee* act *contrary to the Laws of the Land*: how they trample *Magna Charta* under their feet, how boldly and avowedly they tranſgreſſe all Orders and Ordinances of Parliament, and break our *Solemne League and Covenant*, how they ordinarily turn *wel-affected men out of their Freeholds and Goods, Impriſon and beat their Perſons without any known Charge, Accuſer, or Witneſſe againſt them*: nay, *murther them*, as in the caſe of Doctor *Rawleigh* killed in Priſon at *Wells* by the * Committees Marſhall. And the poor men murthered at *Bridgewater*, whoſe blouds were ſhed like the bloud of a Dog, and no reall proſecution therefore.

* *Barret* a Marſhall.

How frequently they leavy one Tax three or four times over, and continue their Leavyes after their Ordinances expire.

How cruelly they raiſe the 20 and 5 part upon the *wel-affected*; exerciſing an Illegall, arbitrary, tyrannicall power over their fellow-Subjects, far higher then ever *Strafford* or *Canterbury* durſt adviſe the KING to.

How ignorantly and unjuſtly they exerciſe a power *to hear and determine*, or rather to determine without hearing, or hear without underſtanding, *private Controverſies* of *Meum & Tuum*, for *Debts, Treſpaſſes*; nay, *Title and Poſſeſſion of Lands* without either formality or knowledge of the Law, not having wit, manners, nor breeding enough (as being choſen for the greateſt part, *out of the baſeſt of the people* for baſe ends) to ſatisfie men with an *outſide*, or *complement of juſtice*; inſomuch that nothing is now more common, then *an Accuſation without an Accuſer, a Sentence without a Judge, and a Condemnation without a Hearing*.

How they exclude all other Magiſtracy, ingroſſing to themſelves *the power of Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Church-Wardens, &c.* in an arbitrary way: keeping Troups of Horſe upon Pay and Free-quarter for their Guards, like the 30 Tyrants of *Athens*: and if any man but ſpeak of *calling them to give an Account*, they pre-

preſently Vote him *a Delinquent*, and *ſequeſter* him. If any man, I ſay, be ſo deaf as not to hear the loud univerſall out-crying of the people; ſo great a ſtranger *in our Iſrael* as not to know theſe truths, let him peruſe Mr *Edward Kings Diſcovery of the Arbitrary actions of the Committee of* Lincolne, *and the Heads of Grievances of Glamorgan-ſhire*, printed 1647. where he may ſee theſe things briefly Epitomized: But to hiſtorize them at large would require a Volume as big as the Book of *Martyrs*. Theſe Committees are excellent ſpunges to ſuck money from the people, and to ſerve not onely their owne, but alſo the covetous, malicious, ambitious ends, of thoſe that raked them out of the dunghill for that imployment, and doe defend them in their oppreſſions. Who is ſo blind as not to ſee that theſe men have their *Protectors?* The *Dæmones* to whom they offer up part of their rapines; to whom they ſacrifice,

Occulta ſpolia, & plures de pace Triumphos.

If there be any intention to *reſtore our Lawes and Liberties*, and *free us from arbitrary Government*; it is fit theſe *Committees* and *all Aſſociations be laid down*, having no Enemy to aſſociate againſt, and that the *old forme of Government* by *Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, &c.* be re-eſtabliſhed; and the *Militia* in each *County* ſetled as before, in *Lieutenants*, and *Deputy-Lieutenants*, or in *Commiſſioners*.

The rather, becauſe the people are now generally of opinion, *They may as eaſily find Charity in Hell, as Juſtice in any Committee; and that the King hath taken down one Star-Chamber, and the Parliament hath ſet up a hundred.*

Nor is it a ſmall artifice to raiſe Money by ſo many ſeveral and confuſed Taxes. Whereas one or two waies orderly uſed and well husbanded, would have done the work. 14. Taxes.

1. *Royall Subſidie of* 400000l.

2. *Pole-money.*

3. *The free Loanes and Contributions upon the Publique Faith amounted to a vaſt incredible ſum in Money, Plate, Horſe, Arms, &c.*

4. *The Iriſh Adventure for ſale of Lands the firſt and ſecond time. And a Contribution or Publick Collection for relief of diſtreſſed Proteſtants in* Ireland, *whereof little went the right way.*

5. *The Weekly Meale.*

6. *The City Loans after the rate of* 50 *Subsidies.*

7. *The Assessment for bringing in the Scots.*

8. *The* 5 *and* 20 *part.*

9. *The Weekly Assessment for my Lord Generals Army.*

10. *The Weekly (or Monthly) Assessment for Sir* Thomas Fairfax *Army.*

11. *The Weekly Assessment for the Scotish Army.*

12. *The Weekly Assessment for the British Army in* Ireland.

13. *The Weekly Assessment for my Lord of* Manchesters *Army.*

14. *Free-quarter* (at least) connived at by the State, because the Souldiers having for a time subsistence that way, are the lesse craving for their Pay: whereby their Arrears growing stale, will, at last either be frustrated by a tedious Committee of Accounts, or forgotten. In the mean time, the Grand Committee of Accounts discount it out of the Commanders Arrears, whereby the State saves it.

15. *The Kings, Queens, and Prince's Revenue,* heretofore sufficient to defray the ordinary charge of defending the Kingdom, and supporting the KING's honour.

16. *Sequestrations and Plunder by Committees,* which if well answered to the State, would have carried on the work: which thus I demonstrate, *One half of all the Goods and Chattels, and (at least) one half of all the Lands, Rents and Revenues of the Kingdome have been Sequestred.* And who can imagine that one half of the Profits and Goods of the Land will not maintain any Forces that can be kept and fed in *England* for the defence thereof?

17. *Compositions with* 80000 *Delinquents, and Fines.*

18. *Excise upon all things.* This alone if well managed would maintain the War. The *Low-Countries* make it almost their only support.

19. *Fortification Money.*

20. *Bishops, Deanes and Chapters Lands sold, and Forrest Lands.* Though the *Duke of Florence* be the most exact Prince in Christendome in *fleecing* his people, yet he doth not *flea* them as these our Butchers doe.

By these severall waies and Taxes, and many more daily invented, about 40 millions in money and money-worth have been milked from the people: and the Parliament (as the Pope did once)

once) may call *England*, *Puteum inexhauſtum*; yet is it now almoſt drawn dry. A vaſt Treaſure, and ſo exceſſive, as nothing but a long Peace could import; and nothing but much fraud and many follies could diſſipate. And we ought not to wonder if it be accounted *inter arcana noviſſimi imperii* to be alwaies making, yet never finiſhing an account thereof.

And as they have artificially confounded the accompts by laying on multiplicity of Taxes; ſo (for the ſame reaſon) they let the money run in ſo many muddy, obſcure channels, through ſo many Committees and Officers fingers, both for collecting, receiving, iſſuing and paying it forth, that it is impoſſible to make or ballance any publique account thereof: and at the leaſt one half thereof is known to be devoured by Committees and Officers; and thoſe that for lucre protect them. By theſe meanes as they make many men partners with them in the publique ſpoiles, ſo they much ſtrengthen and increaſe their party, whereby *multitudo peccantium tollit pœnam.* 15. Accounts.

If theſe things were not purpoſely done, Accounts againe.

1. Our Taxes would be fewer in number, and more in effect.

2. They would be put to run in one channel, under the fingering of fewer Harpies, and perſpicuous and true Entries made of all receipts and diſburſments, which would be publick to common view and examination. The Exchequer way of Accompts is the exacteſt, antienteſt, and beſt known way of account of *England*, and moſt free from deceit: which is almoſt confeſſed *de facto*, when, to make the KING's *Revenue* more obnoxious to their deſires, they took it out of the Exchequer way (contrary to the Fundamentall Lawes of the Land; for both the Higher & Lower Exchequer are as antient and fundamentall as any Court in *England*) and put it under a Committee, which, as all other Committees doe, will render an account of their ſtewardſhip at the latter day. In the meane time divers of that Committee buy in old ſleeping Penſions which they pay themſelves from the firſt of their arrears: yet other men that have diſburſed money out of their purſes for the *Kings ſervice*, can receive no pay for any money laid forth before *Michaelmas Terme*, 1643. becauſe (forſooth) then the Committee firſt took charge of the Revenue. In the mean time the KING's *Tenants* and *Debtors* are deprived of

the benefit of the *Lawes and Liberties of the Subject*, which before they enjoyed: all *Debts* and *Monies* being now raiſed by the terrour of *Purſuivants* and *Meſſengers*, whoſe *Commiſſions* are only *to Diſtrain and Leavy, &c.* whereas formerly the Exchequer ſent out legall Proceſſe, and the Tenant or Debtor had liberty to plead to it in his own defence, if he thought himſelfe wronged; but now *new Lords, new Lawes*, and to countenance their doings, the Committee hath gotten an addition of ſome Lords to them.

3. If there were faire play above board, ſo many Members of both Houſes would not be ambitious of the trouble and clamour that attends *Task-maſters, Publicans*, and ſuch ſinners as ſit at the *receipt of Cuſtome*, being no part of the buſineſſe, for which the Writ *ſummons*, or the people chuſe or truſt them, and whereby they are diverted from the buſineſſe of the Houſe: but would leave that imployment to other men, who not having the character and priviledge of Parliament upon them, will be leſſe able to protect themſelves and their Agents from giving publick accounts of their receipts and diſburſments, and from putting affronts and delaies upon the *Committee of Accounts*, as (it is well known) ſome of them have done.

Laſtly, it is ſcandalous that the ſame men ſhould be continued ſo long in their money imployments, becauſe *Diuturnitas & ſolitudo corrumpunt Imperia*; and by long continuance and experience they grow ſo hardned, ſo cunning in their way, and ſo backed with dependencies, that it is almoſt impoſſible to trace them. And although (when we look upon the many perſons imployed) we cannot ſay there is *ſolitudo perſonarum*; yet when we conſider that by a long Partnerſhip in their imployment they are allied together in *one common Intereſt*; they are to be eſteemed but *as one man*, for *a Corporation of men is but many men joyned together as one man, and with one mind purſuing one and the ſame end or Intereſt.*

16. Committee of Accounts.

And though they have a *generall Committee of Accompts*, yet they were nominated by thoſe *Members* that ought to give Accompts; and it muſt needs be ſuſpitious for an *Accomptant* to chuſe thoſe perſons before whom he ſhall *accompt*. And we ſee (after ſo long a time *of their ſitting*) no *fruit* thereof. Whereas the

the people did hope, *that after so much Mony spent, and such great Debts and Arrears left to pay*, (whereby they are threatned with a *continuance of their Taxes*) *That a full and exact generall Accompt of all Receipts and Disbursments would have been published in Print, for their satisfaction*, as is usually done in the *Low-Countries*, and as was once done by this Parliament, *Anno* 1642. by a *Declaration of the Accounts of the Kingdome*.

But, it may be the *Synod* in favour of the *Grandees*, have voted that place in Scripture, [*Render an account of thy Steward-ship*] to be but Apocryphall.

17. Wants of the Parliament, and how occasioned.

By these exorbitant courses, though they have drained 40 *millions* from the people, yet (as *Philip of Macedon* was said to be *Inter quotidianas rapinas semper inops*) they are faine to such ridiculous want and beggery, that they have lately pawned almost all the security they have, *for* 200000*l. to Disband the Army*, and enter upon the *Irish imployment*. They have slit *Goldsmiths-hall* in sunder, and given *one side* thereof *to the City*, and kept the *other half* for *themselves*, and that already charged with 200000*l.* at least. So that if any sudden occasion happen, they have put their *Purse into the hands of the uncircumcised Jewes of the City*, and cannot raise *one penny* but by *new Taxes upon the people*. It was worth observing to see how officiously some of the *old Stagers* took leave of the *publick Purse*, before it came into *Hucksters hands*: Alderman *Pennington* had a debt of 3000*l.* he owed to Sr *J. Pennington* forgiven him, (he never asked forgiveneſſe of his sins more heartily) and 3000*l.* more given him out of *Goldsmiths-hall* in course. The reason of this bounty was forked or two-fold:

1. *Because he had got enough before.*

2. *To comfort his heart, for being left out of the City Militia.*

But the most observable thing was, to see this *old Parliament* like a young Prodigall, *take up Money upon difficult terms, and intangle all they had for a security.*

1. They gave way to the City to hedge in an old Debt, being a loane of money after the rate of 50 Subsidies: and other old Debts.

2. Whereas 200000*l.* onely was the summe to be borrowed; the City injoyned them to take up 230000*l.* whereof the odde 30000*l.* to be bestowed for relief of decayed occupiers of the

the *City*; So that, upon the matter, *the Parliament payes* 30000.l. *Broakage.*

3. That *the City* may not trust the *greatest unthrifts* of Christendome with laying out their *own money*; they put upon them *two Treasurers of the City to receive and disburse it for the service for which it was borrowed.* So ye see they have now neither *credit*, *money*, nor a *purse* to put it in.

So that the *modest Members* who have beene more forward to help *their Countrey* then themselves, *are* left *in the lurch for their losses*, and exposed to the laughter of their *Elder Brothers*, the old *Junto men*, and *Factious leaders* of the *House*; all being now morgaged to the *Lombards* of *the City*. The *thriving Members* hope their *younger Brothers* will continue as modest, as they have been, and *digest all with patience.* But others, and those neither *Fooles* nor *Knaves* hope all the *modest and middle men* of the *Houses*, such as are ingaged in *no faction*, wil be provoked hereby to draw into a *third party* or *Junto*, to moderate the excesses of the *other two*, when any thing *prejudiciall to the Common-wealth is Agitated*: And to call the old *Junto* men, those *land-Pyrates to account*, making them *cast up* what they *have swallowed*, and bring it to a *Common dividend.* Or rather to *pay the Army and publique debts*, whereby the people may be *eased of their pressures.* Nor let them be *discouraged* with the *supposed difficulty hereof*, since 20. or 30. men holding together, and observing the *crosse Debates* and different sway of *each party*, may easily make themselves *Moderators of their differences*, and turne the scales *for the best advantage of the Common-wealth*, which way they please to cast in *their Votes*, since it is very rare to have any question carried by more then *eight* or *ten Voyces.*

19. Grandees provision to save themselves.

Most of these *Grandees* are reported to have for *their retreate*, *houses in the Low Countryes richly furnished with sequestred Plate*, *Linnen*, *and Stuffe*: And *great store of money in Bank for their shelter*, against such stormes as *their Rapine*, *Tyranny*, and *Ignorance* may happily *raise here amongst us.* In those their retirements, these Authors of our miseries will injoy *their sinnes*, and *our spoyles in security*, attending an opportunity to *purchase their Peace* at last, and betray our *Safeties and Liberties* to the inraged *Prince and people.* This is called *robbing the Ægyptians.* And doubt-

doubtleſſe theſe ambitious *ſtate-Mountebanks* have brought us into a darkneſſe *worſe then Ægyptian.* The text ſaith, *the Ægyptians roſe not from their places in three dayes*: They yet knew where they were; which is more then we do, every man being out of his place and rank. The *Servant* in place of his *Maſter*, the *Begger* in place of the *King*, the *Fool* in place of the *Councellour*, the *Theef* in place of the *Judge*, the *Cheater* in place of the *Treaſurer*, the *Clowne* in place of the *Gentleman*; none but God alone can play *Dædalus* part, & *give us a Clue to lead us out of this Labyrinth*, into which theſe unpolitique *Hocas Pocaſſes* have brought us. Theſe unskilful work-men that have built up *Babel*, and pulled downe *Sion.* Others are ſaid to *prepare forraigne Plantations for Retreat*; To people which, *Children are raviſhed from their Parents armes, and Shipped away*; an abomination not known in *England* before, and therefore no competent Law made againſt it; no more then in ancient *Rome* againſt *Parricides.*

20. Grandees their ſeveral intereſt, and deſigns and ſtrengths.

By what hath been already ſaid, you ſee what the *ſeverall* and what the *conjoyned intereſts* of theſe *two Junto's* or *Factions*, *Preſbyterian* and *Independant* are. Let us now conſider where *their ſeverall ſtrength* lies. The *Independant* groundeth his ſtrength upon the *Army*, which if he can keep up, he hopes to give *the Law to all*; and to produce that great Chymæra, *Liberty of Conſcience*: not conſidering that the confuſion and licentiouſneſſe of ſuch a liberty will deſtroy it ſelfe, *Libertas Libertate perit.* The *Presbyterians* have three *pillars* to ſupport them.

1. *The City* is their chiefe foundation, with which they keep *a ſtrict correſpondencie*, and *daily communication of Councells.* Upon this conſideration, they have lately put the *Parliament Purſe* into the *Cities Pocket* as aforeſaid; ſetled and inlarged the *City Militia.* Whereas all the *Countreyes* of *England* (being more obnoxious to injuries then the *City*) *ſuffer much* for want of *ſetling their Militia*; the *Parliament* not truſting them *with Armes*, ſo much as for their own *defence*: An evident ſigne, there is a farther deſign then *Disbanding this Army.* And becauſe the *Citie Militia*, can onely keep in awe the adjacent *South* and *Eaſt Countyes* of the *Kingdome*: Therefore to ſuppreſſe the *Remoter parts*, and inforce them to *Obedience*, they keep up ſome *in-land Garriſons*, and have the *Scots* and *G. Poyntz ſupernumerary Forces*,

for the North. And in *the Weſt* (under colour of *ſending men for Ireland*) they keep upon *Free-quarter* and pay of the Country, *many ſupernumerary Regiments* and *Troups*, moſt *Cavaliers*; at leaſt five times as many as they really intend to tranſport. Theſe are *alwaies going*, but *never gone*: Like St GEORGE, *alwaies in his ſaddle, never on his way.* Something ever is and ſhall be wanting untill Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army be *Diſbanded*; and then (it is thought) the diſguiſe will fall off; and theſe *ſupernumeraries* ſhall appear a *new modelled Army* under *Preſbyterian Commanders*, you may be ſure: and ſuch whoſe conſciences ſhall not befool their wits where any matter of gain appeareth; If this be not their ayme, Why did they not disband theſe lewd Supernumeraries before laſt Winter, ſince they might have raiſed as many men the Spring following for half the charge their very *free-quarters* coſt? And moſt of theſe ſwear they will not go for *Ireland*, vowing *they will cut the throats of the Round-heads.*

The Country is amazed, fearing theſe Cavaliers are kept on *free-quarter by a Cavalieriſh Party* for ſome *Cavalieriſh Deſigne.*

Secondly, why did they not rather divide Sr *Thomas Fairfax's* Army into *two parts*, one to go for *Ireland*, the other to ſtay in *England*, being already modelled, excellently diſciplined, and having the viſible marks of Gods favour upon their actions? But to take a few for *Ireland*, a few for *England*, and leave a coare in the middle to be plucked forth and Disbanded, was the way to diſcontent them, and put them into mutiny: and thereby neceſſitate the Parliament to *diſband them all:* and give an opportunity to them that ſeek it, to new modell another Army out of the aforeſaid Supernumeraries, more pliable to the deſires of the Presbyterian *Junto:* Adde hereunto the cauſleſſe exaſperating *ſpeeches* and *aſperſions caſt upon moſt of the Army* purpoſely, as moderate men think, *to diſcontent them.*

Thirdly, if they have no intent to keep up an Army againſt the people, why have they continued the military charge for another year; and inlarged it from 52000l. to 60000l. a Month?

21. Presbyters. Thus the *City*, *In-land Garriſons*, and *Super-numerary forces new modelled* are like to prove the *three ſtringed Whip*, wherewith the Presbyterian *Phaetons* will drive their *triumphant Chariot* if they prevail; to which may be added *the Preſbyters* themſelves, who by

by over-awing mens Consciences with their doctrine, will subdue and work mens minds like wax to receive any impression of *bondage* that tyranny and oppression can set upon them, as they doe in *Scotland*: The *Clergy* in all times and places have ever *held with the Mighty*; as the *Jacco* hunts still with the *Lion* to *partake of his prey*. The *Clergy* have ever had an itch *to be medling with State-affaires*, which shewes how contemptible an opinion they have of *their owne Coat*, that they can find no contentment in it; yet they would have the *Laity* to have a reverend opinion of it. The *Popish Clergy* draw all *Civill affairs*, publike and private, under their jurisdiction and cognisance, *quatenus* there is *peccatum* in all humane actions; the Presbyterians *quatenus* there is *scandalum* in all humane actions, what is the oddes? *Peccatum* is the mother, *Scandalum* the daughter, and both pretend they do this *in ordine ad Deum*. But universall experience teacheth us, *how miserable that Common-wealth is, where the corruption of a Church-man proves the generation of a State-man.*

The premises considered, I shall propound these ensuing *Queries* to those that are of better judgment then my self. 22. Quæres upon the premises.

1. *Quære*, Why the Title and punishment of *Malignants* is translated from the *Cavaliers*, who fought *for Regall tyranny* against the *Parliament*, and laid upon those that fought against *Regall tyranny* for the *Parliament*? Is it not because those *Cavaliers* that have fought fore *one tyranny*, will not be scrupulous to fight *for another*? and such *wel-affected* as have opposed tyranny in one kind, will not admit of it in another? Why is it now accounted a note of *malignity* and *dis-affection* to *endevour the putting downe of Arbitrary Government*, and *re-establishing our Lawes, Liberties, and Properties*; whereto the *Parliament* by their many *Declarations* and their *Nationall Covenant* are bound? Lay this to heart & consider whether they have not changed these their *first principles*, & consequently whether they are not desirous to change their *old friends* who resolutely adhere to the said *principles*.

2. If the KING grant *the Propositions*, or if He deny them, and the *predominant Junto* (or both *Junto's* joyned together, to drive on one common Interest?) for it is now thought they are upon an accommodation to keep up that power *conjunctim* which they despair to uphold *divisim*) establish the *Military* and

Civill power without Him, according to their deſires, and in order to their aymes. *Quære*, whether the ſaid Leading men ſetled in their poſtures with their *confident Guards* about them, may not draw after them ſo many of their *Party* as upon an *implicite faith* will follow them, and lick up the crums of the *publicke ſpoiles* under their *tables*; *expelling or diſ-abling* (as aforeſaid) *the diſ-ingaged Members*, and by this policy make themſelves perpetuall *Dictators*, incorporating and ingroſſing to themſelves both the *conſultive*, *directive*, and *miniſteriall*; nay, the *legiſlative*, and *judicative powers* of the Kingdome in all cauſes *civill* and *military*, ſetting up an *Oligarchy* or *popular Tyranny* in ſtead of a *Regall*: as the 30 Tyrants of *Athens* did.

In order whereto they already declare,

1. *That an Ordinance of Parliament without the* KING's *Royall aſſent is equall to an Act of Parliament.*

2. *That an Ordinance is above a Law by vertue of their Legiſlative power:* upon which, preſuming in their *Ordinance of Indemnity* they have granted *an Appeale from the Judges of the Law to a Committee of Parliament.* See the Ordinance, *May* 21. 1647.

3. *That they are the Irrevocable Truſtees of the Peoples Laws, Liberties, and Properties, without account:* with other principles preparative to Tyranny, and deſtructive to the known Laws and fundamentall Government of this Realme.

3. *Quære*, Why arbitrary and barbarous *Government by Committees* & other *illegall proceedings* (which in time of War were uſed upon real or pretended neceſſity, & were then only excuſable, becauſe *neceſſitas tollit Legem*) are ſtill continued upon us now in time of peace, no enemies troubling our quiet, and without any further pretence of neceſſity, contrary to their *Nationall Covenant*, and all their *Declarations?* Is it not, to inure the people to *ſervitude*, and exerciſe their *patience?*

4. *Quære*, Whether the prodigious oppreſſions of Committees, Sequeſtrators, &c. and of Free-quarter, be not purpoſely countenanced to neceſſitate the people to riſe in Tumults, that thence occaſion may be taken to keep In-land Garriſons and Armies?

5. *Quære*, Whether our Lawes, Liberties, and Properties are not now more liable to an Invaſion from the *Legiſlative power*, then

then formerly from the *Prerogative?* considering that those who like ambitious *Absalom*, courted and wooed the people in the beginning of troubles; now like haughty *Rehoboams*, care not though the people complaine: their little finger is heavier then the loyns of the King, the controversie between the two *Junto's* being no more, then whose slaves we shall be.

6. *Quare*, Whether if the King hereafter tread in the steps of this Parliament, and their Committees, He will not be a greater Tyrant then either the *Turke*, *Russe*, or *French*, and have as absolute dominion over His Subjects as the Devil hath over damned Soules in Hell? And how dangerous these presidents may be to those Laws and Liberties which we have sworn to maintain?

23. Middle and moderate Members again.

If the *middle and disingaged men* in the House, do not speedily unite themselves into a Party or *Junto*, as the *factious* have done, and communicate their counsels; they will be *arena sine calce*, loose sand dissipated by every breath: and neither serviceable for themselves nor their Country. Whereas if they unite, twenty or thirty may become Moderators and Umpires between both Parties; (as hath been already said) let the moderate men but consider how sad and dishonourable a thing it is, to see nothing almost of great and publick concernment come into the House, but what hath been *before hand contrived, debated, and digested* in one or both of the two *Junto's* at their *private meetings*; and put into so resolved and prejudicate a way and method of dispatch, that every man is appointed his part or cue before hand: One man to move it, and set it on foot, another to second him: One man speak to one part of the Argument, another to another part: another to keep himself to the last for a reserve, and speake to the Question, which he is provided to qualifie with a distinction, or vary it, if he find it difficult to passe. Thus all publique businesses are measured by private respects; whereby it appears, that as *frequent Parliaments* are *good physicke*, so *continuall Parliaments* are *bad food*; and the people may complain, that, *qui medice vivit, misere vivit*. Parliaments are *bona peritura*, they cannot keep long without corruption. Their perpetuity emboldens the Members, by taking from them all feare of *being called to account*; especially if they get their Sons into the House as well as themselves (as many have done this Parliament, and more endevour to do)

whereby they have an eſtate in their *places for two or three lives*; Moreover by *long ſitting* they become ſo familiar with one anothers Perſons and deſignes, as to ſerve one anothers turns, to joyn Intereſts, and to draw into factions, *Hodie mihi, cras tibi.* If you and your party will help me to day, I and my friends will help you to morrow.

24. Concluſion with ſome complaints.

Miſerima Reſp: ubi majeſtas Imperii, & ſalus populi diſcordibus conflictantur ſtudiis. What ſhall we ſay?

En quo diſcordia tetra —— perduxit miſeros?

Shall we complain to God? God hath a controverſie with us. Of whom ſhall we complain? of our ſelves? we muſt firſt reform our ſelves: We that take upon us to *reforme Church and Common-Wealth.*

Shall we complain of our ſins? aske the grace of repentance firſt; *and ſo aske that we may obtain.*

Shall we complain of our puniſhments? let us firſt repent, and amend our ſins *that cauſed them.* Let us firſt pluck off the maſk of *hypocriſie*, God will ſee through ſuch a fantaſticall *garment of Fig-leaves.* Let us no longer make *Religion a ſtalking-horſe*; God *who is all Wiſdome and all Truth, will not be deceived.* If we talke like Chriſtians, and walk like Turks, *Chriſt will not own us.* To faſt for a day, and hang our heads like bulruſhes, *will not reconcile us.* We muſt faſt *from publique ſpoiles, rapines and oppreſſion, and not drink the teares of the poor and needy.*

Shall we complain with the Prophet, *That our Princes are become Thieves?* that was heretofore our complaint; now we muſt invert it, and cry, *That our Thieves (mean and baſe people) are become Princes.*

We are ſick, very ſick, intemperately ſick; and God hath given us a Phyſitian in his wrath, *a Leper as white as ſnow*, fitter to *infect* then *cure us.* What Phyſick doth he preſcribe? *poyſon.* What diet? *ſtones* in ſtead of *bread, Scorpions* in ſtead of *Fiſhes*, hard fare for them that formerly fed ſo daintily. Before I conclude, let me give you the pedigree of our *miſeries*, and of their *remedies*: A long *peace* begat *plenty*, *plenty* begat *pride*, and her ſiſter *riot*; *pride* begat *ambition*, *ambition* begat *faction*, *faction* begat *Civill War*: and (if our evils be not incurable, if we be not falne *in id temporis quo nec vitia noſtra, nec eorum remedia ferre poſſumus*) our *war* will beget

beget *poverty*, *poverty humility*, *humility Peace* again, *Sic rerum revertentibus vicibus annulus vertitur Politicus*. The declining ſpoak of the wheel will riſe again. But we are not yet ſufficiently humbled; we have not repented with *Nineveh*. We weare *ſilks* and *velvets* in ſtead of *ſack-cloath* and *aſhes* (even the meaneſt upſtart hath his Thefts writ upon his back by his Taylor in proud Characters of Gold lace) *We have* not *watered our couch with Tears*, but *with adulterous ſweat*. Look to it therefore ye ſtate *Incubi*, that by an inceſtuous copulation have begot *plenty* upon *war*, and filled your houſes with the ſpoil and plunder of your deare Country; an inundation of bloud, and of the tears of the oppreſſed will waſh away the foundation of your houſes: And peace will be far from you in this world, but eſpecially that *peace which the World cannot give*: and becauſe Salamander-like *you delight in the fire of contention*; an unquenchable fire will be your lot hereafter. And though you eſcape *all accounts here*, yet upon the *great day of account* when you ſhall receive *your ſentence of condemnation*; thoſe your children for whoſe preferment you ſell your ſouls, your God for *gold*, ſhall not ſhew ſo much thankfulneſſe or pity towards you, as to ſay, *Alas our Father!* But your hearts are hardned with *Pharaoh*, I leave you therefore to *Pharaoh's* deſtiny, to *be drowned* in your own *Red Sea*, as he was in his.

Thus far I adventured to vindicate our *Religion, Laws, and Liberties*, with my *pen*; in diſcharge of my *conſcience*, and purſuance of our *Nationall Covenant* which obligeth us *to defend them againſt whoſoever to our power*; neither knowing nor caring whether in ſo wicked an age (wherein *vice* is honoured, and *virtue* contemned) I may be thought worthy of puniſhment for being more righteous then my ſuperiours. I know an honeſt man is wondered at like a monſter, and the innocency of his life and converſation ſuſpected as a Libell againſt the State, yet if I periſh I periſh; *& pereundum in licitis*. Nor am I leſſe provided of a ſafe retreat then our *Grandees*: my grave is open for me, and one foot in already. *Contempſit omnes ille qui mortem prius*, he that contemnes death, ſcornes both *hope* and *feare*; which are the onely affections that makes Knaves, Fools and Cowards of all the world. The world is a goodly Theater, we the Actors, God is Poet and chief ſpectator. We muſt not chuſe our owne parts, that is at Gods appointment.

25. Reſolution and ſcope of the Authour.

One

One man he appoints to play the King, another the Begger; one a Comick, another a Tragick part: whatsoever part God hath appointed for me in this remainder of my life, I will have a care to personage it ingenuously and aptly: Not doubting but my *Exit* shall be accompanied with an applause into my tyring *room*, my Tombe; nor will I refuse the meanest part that may draw a *Plaudite* from so excellent a spectator, but will prepare my self for the worst of evils in this worst of times; and pray to God to reforme our Reformers. *Amen.*

The end of the first Booke.

THE HISTORY OF INDEPENDENCY,

WITH

The Riſe, Growth, and Practiſes of that powerfull and reſtleſſe FACTION.

Dus AMBROSIUS.

Nec nobis ignominioſum eſt pati quod paſſus eſt Chriſtus, nec vobis glorioſum eſt facere quod fecit Judas.

TACIT:

Scelera, ſceleribus, tuenda.

VIRGILIUS.

——ſua cuique Deus ſit dira libido.

1 St. JOHN C. 2. V. 16.

Quicquid eſt in mundo eſt concupiſcentia oculorum, concupiſcentia carnis, aut ſuperbia vitæ.

London. Printed in the yeare, 1648.

Reader,

Gentle or ungentle, I write to all, *knowing that all have now got almoſt an equall ſhare and intereſt in this Gallymaufry or Hotchpot which our Grandee Pſeudo politicians with their negative and demoliſhing Councells have made, both of Church and Commonwealth: and therefore I write in* a mixed ſtile, *in which (I dare ſay) there are ſome things fit to hold the* judgments of the Graveſt; *ſome things fit to* catch the fancies of the Lighteſt, *and ſome things of* a middle nature, *applying my ſelf to* all capacities, *(as far as truth will permit) becauſe I fore-ſee the* Cataſtrophe *of this* Tragedy *is more likely to be conſummated by* multitude of hands, *then* wiſdome of heads. *I have been a curious obſerver, and diligent inquirer, after, not onely the* Actions, *but the* Councels *of theſe times; and I here preſent the reſult of my indevours to thee:* In a time of miſ-apprehenſions *it is good to avoid* miſtakings, *and therefore I adviſe thee not to apply what I ſay* to the Parliament, or Army in generall, *if any phraſe that hath dropped from my pen in haſte (for this is a work of haſte) ſeem to look aſquint upon them: No, it is the* Grandees, *the* Junto-men, *the* Hocas-Pocaſſes, *the* State-Mountebanks, *with their* Zanyes *and* Jack-puddings, Committee-men, Sequeſtrators, Treaſurers, *and* Agitators,

tors, *under them, that are here hiſtorified: were the* Parliament *(the major part whereof is in bondage to the minor part and their Janiſaries) and the* Army *freed from theſe uſurping and engaged* Grandees, *who betrayed the honour and Priviledges of Parliament and Army to their owne luſts; both would ſtand right, and be ſerviceable to the ſetling of a* firme, laſting peace under the King: *upon our* firſt principles, Religion, Laws, and Liberties; *which are now ſo far laid by, that whoſoever will not joyne with the* Grandees *in ſubverting them, is termed a* Malignant, *as heretofore he that would not adhere* to the Parliament *in ſupporting them was accounted; ſo that the* definition *of a* Malignant *is turned the wrong ſide outward. The body of the Parliament and Army (in the midſt of theſe diſtempers) is yet healthy, ſound, ſerviceable; my endevour is therefore to play the part of a friendly Phyſitian, and preſerve the body by purging peccant humours; were the Army under Commanders and Officers of better principles, who had not defiled their fingers with* publike monies, *their conſciences by* complying *with, and* cheating all intereſts (King, Parliament, People, City, *and* Scots) *for their own private ends, I ſhould thinke that they carried the Sword of the Lord, and of* Gideon; *but clean contrary to the Image preſented to* Nebuchadnezzar *in a dream, the head and upper parts of this aggregate body are part of clay, part of iron, the lower parts of better mettall: I cannot reform, I can but admoniſh; God muſt be both the* Æſculapius *and* Prometheus; *and amend all; and though we receive never ſo many* denials, *never ſo many* repulſes *from him, let us take heed how we Vote (even in the private corners of our hearts) no* Addreſſes, *no* Applications *to Him. Let us take heed of multiplying ſins againſt God, leſt he permit our* ſchiſmaticall Grandees to multiply Armies and forces

upon

upon us, to warre againſt Heaven as well as againſt our Religion, Lawes, Liberties and Properties upon Earth, and keep us and our Eſtates under the perpetuall bondage of the Sword, which hath been ſeverall wayes attempted in the Houſes theſe two laſt weeks, both for the raiſing & keeping of a new Army of 30000. or 40000. men in the ſeven Northern Aſſociate Counties, upon eſtabliſhed pay (beſides this Army in the South) *and alſo for the* raiſing of men in each County of England, *and all to be engroſſed into the hands of his Excellency, and ſuch Commanders and Officers as he ſhall ſet over them; and this worke may chance be carried on by the Grandees of* Derby-houſe *and the Army, if not prevented; for the Generall (notwithſtanding this power was denied him in the Houſe of Commons) hath ſent Warrants into moſt Counties to raiſe Horſe and Foot; yea, to that baſeneſſe of ſlavery hath our Generall and Army, with their under-Tyrants the Grandees brought us, that although themſelves did heretofore ſet the* raſcallity *of the Kingdome on worke in great multitudes (eſpecially the* ſchiſmaticall party*) to clamour upon the Parliament with* ſcandalous Petitions, *and make peremptory demands to the Houſes, deſtructive to the* Religion, Laws, Liberties, *and* Properties of the Land, *and the very* foundation of Parliaments: *to which they extorted what Anſwers they pleaſed: and got a generall Vote,* That it was the undoubted right of the Subject to petition, and afterwards to acquieſce in the wiſdome and juſtice of the two Houſes: *Yet when upon 16. of* May, 1648. *the whole County of* Surry *(in effect) came in ſo civill a poſture to deliver a Petition to the Houſes, that they were armed for the moſt part but with Sticks: in which Petition there is* nothing contained which the Parliament is not bound to make good *by their many* Declarations and Remonſtran-

ces *to the people, or by the* Oathes of Allegiance, Supremacy, *or* Nationall Covenant, *or by the* known Lawes of this Land. *Yet were they,* 1. *Abuſed by the Souldiers of* White-hall *as they paſſed by, where ſome of them were pulled in and beaten.* 2. *When thoſe Gentlemen of quality that carried the Petition came to* Weſtminſter-hall, *they found a Guard of Souldiers at the dore uncivilly oppoſing their entrance to make their addreſſe to the Houſe.* 3. *When they preſſed into the Hall and got up to the Commons dore, they were there reviled by the Guard.* 4. *The multitude which ſtood in the* new Palace, *(becauſe ſome of them did but whoop as others did, who were purpoſely ſet on work (as is conceived) to mix with them, and diſorder them) were ſuddenly ſurrounded with a ſtrong party of Horſe from the* Mewes, *and ſome more Companies of Foot from* White-hall, *who by the appointment of the Committee of Schiſmaticks at* Derby-houſe *were ready prepared for this deſigne, and catched them (as it were) in a Toyle, and with barbarous and ſchiſmaticall rage fell upon theſe naked, unarmed Petitioners, ſlew and wounded many without diſtinction, telling them,* They were appointed to give an Anſwer to their Petition, and they ſhould have no other; *(as indeed they had not) though the Lieutenant Colonel that did all the miſchief, was called into the Houſe of Commons, and had publick thanks given him at the Bar) took many of them Priſoners, and Plundred their Pockets, Cloaks, Hats, Swords, Horſes, and ſome of them (even Gentlemen of as good quality as their Generall) were ſtripped of their Doublets. Thoſe Gentlemen of quality who were in the* Lobby *before the Commons dore civilly expecting an Anſwer, were abuſed, and violently driven out by the Guard to take their fortune amongſt the Rabble; what* Tyrants *ever in the world* refuſed to hear *the* Petitions *and* grievances *of their people*

It is reported by ſome, that Sir *H. Mildmay*, Col. *Purefoy*, and the *Speaker* (doubting the Houſe would give too good an Anſwer to their Petition) ſent for theſe Horſe and Foot.

people before? The moſt Tyrannicall government of the world is that of Ruſſia, *and* Jo: Vaſilowich *was the greateſt Tyrant of that Nation, yet ſhall this Tyrant riſe up in judgment at the latter day againſt theſe Monſters. Behold what entertainment your Petitions ſhall have hereafter, if publick Peace be the end of their deſires: yet many Petitions ready drawn are ſent up and down in moſt Counties by Committee-men, and Sequeſtrators, to enforce men to* give thanks for the 4 Votes againſt the King: *And many Petitions from Schiſmaticks, deſtructive to Religion, Lawes, Liberties and Property, have been obtruded upon the Houſes, and received encouragement and thanks becauſe they tend to* ſubvert the fundamentall government *of* Church *and* Common-wealth, *and caſt all into the* Chaos of confuſion, *whereby the* Grandees may have occaſion to keep up this Army, *and perpetuate their Tyranny and our Burdens. And from theſe Tumults of their own raiſing, the Grandees pretend a neceſsity to keep this Army about this Town, to watch advantages againſt it:* Cromwell *having often ſaid,* This Town muſt be brought to more abſolute obedience, or laid in the duſt; *in order to which* the Souldiers are now diſ-arming the Country, *and then the* City *is next, who being once diſ-armed, muſt proſtitute their* mony-bags *to theſe fellowes, or be* plundred.

Reader, *having ſpoken my ſenſe to thee, I leave thee to thy own ſenſe; ſubmitting my ſelf to as much charity as God hath endowed thee withall.* God that made all, preſerve and amend all, *This ſhall be the daily prayer of him that had rather die for his Country, then ſhare with theſe* Godly Thieves, *in eating out the bowels of his Country, and enriching himſelf with publick ſpoiles.*

The

The Hiſtory of INDEPENDENCY.

The Preamble.

YOu have in *The myſtery of the two Juntoes*, PRESBYTERIAN and INDEPENDENT, preſented to your view theſe two Factions, (as it were in a Cock-pit pecking at one another) which riſing originally from the two Houſes and Synod have ſo much diſturbed and diſlocated in every joynt both Church and Common-wealth. I muſt now ſet before you *Independency* Triumphant, rouſing it ſelf upon its Legs, clapping its Wings, and Crowing in the midſt of the Pit, with its enemy under its feet: though not yet well reſolved what uſe it can or may make of its Victory.

I. What Independency is.

But before I go any farther, it is fit I tell you what *Independency* is:

It is *Genus generaliſſimum* of all Errours, Hereſies, Blaſphemies and Schiſmes. A generall name and Title under which they are all united, as *Sampſon's* Foxes were by the *Tailes*; and though they have ſeverall opinions and fancies (which make their *vertiginous heads* turn different waies) yet profit and preferment (being their *tailes*) their laſt and ultimate end by which they are governed (like a Ship by his Rudder) and wherein they mutually correſpond; the reſt of their differences being but circumſtantiall are eaſily playſter'd over with the *untempered morter* of Hypocriſie by their *Rabbies* of the Aſſembly, and their *Grandees* of the two Houſes and Army, in whom they have an *implicite faith*.

Independency is compounded of Iudaiſme.

As *Mahomet's* Alchoran was the Gallemaufry of Jew and Chriſtian; ſo are they a Compoſition of Jew, Chriſtian, and Turk, With the Jew, they arrogate to be the peculiar people of God,

the Godly, the Saints, who onely have right unto the Creatures, and ſhould poſſeſſe the good things of this world, all others be Uſurpers: A Tenent ſo deſtructive to all humane ſociety & civil Government, that by vertue thereof they may and do by fraud, or force, Tax, eat up with Free-quarter, couſen, and Plunder the whole Kingdom, and account it but robbing the Ægyptians: To this purpoſe they overthrow all the Judicatories, Lawes, and Liberties of the Land, and ſet up Arbitrary Committees, Martial-Law, and *weather-cock* Ordinances in their room, *made* and *unmade* by their own over-powring Faction in Parliament at pleaſure, with the help and terrour of their Janiſaries, attending at their dores.

Chriſtianiſme. With the Chriſtians: ſome of them (but not all) acknowledge the Scripture, but ſo far onely as they will ſerve their turns, to *Phariſee* themſelves, and *Publican* all the world beſides; men filled with ſpirituall pride, meer Enthuſiaſtiques, of a ſpeculative and high-flying Religion, too high for Earth, and too low for Heaven: whereas a true and fruitfull Religion like *Jacob's* Ladder, *Stat pede in terris, caput inter nubila condit*, muſt have one end upon Earth, as well as the other in Heaven. He that acknowledgeth the duties of the firſt Table to God, and neglecteth the duties of the ſecond Table to man, is an Hypocrite both againſt God and man.

Turciſme. With the Turk: they ſubject all things, even *Religion, Laws*, and *Liberties* (ſo much cried up by them heretofore) to the power of the Sword ever ſince, by undermining practiſes and lies they have jugled the *States ſword* into the *Independent ſcabbard*.

2. The E. of *Eſſex* and Sir *William Waller* undermined to let in the Independents. The Earle of *Eſſex* Generall of all the Parliaments Forces (a man though popular and honeſt, yet ſtubbornly ſtout, fitter for Action then Counſell, and apter to get a Victory then improve it) muſt be laid by, and his Forces reduced. The like for Sir *William Waller* and his Forces; that Commanders of *Independent* Principles and intereſts with Souldiers ſutable to them, might by degrees be brought into their room to reap the harveſt of thoſe crops which they had ſowen.

This was the ground-work of the *Independent* deſigne, to monopolize the power of the Sword into their own hands.

This could not be better effected then by daſhing the Earl of

Eſſex

Eſſex and Sir *William Waller* one againſt another: for which purpoſe that hot-headed Schiſmatique Sir *A. Haſlerigge* was imployed with Sir *W. Waller* and ſome others (whoſe Aſhes I will ſpare) with the E. of *Eſſex* to break them one upon another. This was at laſt effected by taking advantage of their ſeverall misfortunes; the one at *Liſtithyell* in *Cornwall*, the other at the *Deviſes* in *Wiltſhire*, where *Haſlerigge* (a man too ignorant to command, and too inſolent to obey) not ſtaying for the Foot who lay round about the *Deviſes* in a ſtorming poſture, charged up a ſteep hill with his Horſe, onely againſt the Lord *Wilmot's* Party, one Diviſion ſo far before another, that the ſecond Diviſion could not relieve the firſt, thereby freeing Sir *Ralph Hopton* from an aſſured overthrow, and beſtowing an unexpected Victory on the L. *Wilmot*: he received a wound in his flight, the ſmart whereof is ſtill ſo powerfully imprinted in his memory, that he abhors fighting ever ſince; witneſſe his praying and crying out of Gun-ſhot at the Battle at *Cheriton*, when he ſhould have fought; and his complaint openly made in the Houſe of Commons of the Earle of *Stanford* for Baſtonadoing him. Which raſhneſſe of his (if it deſerve not a worſe name) was ſo far from being diſcountenanced, that he received not long after a gift of 6500 l. from the Houſe, and is lately made Governour of *Newcaſtle*, and 3000l. given him to repair the Works there. I ſhall not need the ſpirit of propheſie, to fore-ſee that the tenth part of the ſaid 3000l. wil not be beſtowed upon thoſe Works. Thus was he favoured by his party in the Houſe, who were thought to look upon this action as an acceptable ſervice.

3. The E. of *Manchester* undermined.

In farther progreſſe of this deſigne, *Mancheſter* (a Lord, and therefore not to be confided in) was undermined and accuſed by his Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell* of high Crimes, whom he again recriminated with a Charge of as high a nature; and when all men were high in expectation of the event, it grew to be a drawn battle between them; whereby, all men concluded them both guilty: *Mancheſter* was diſcarded.

Out of the aſhes of theſe three aroſe that Phœnix (forſooth) a new modell'd Army under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, a Gentleman of an irrationall and brutiſh valour, fitter to follow another mans counſell then his own, and obnoxious to

Cromwell and the *Independent faction* (upon whose bottome he stands) for his preferment, it being no dishonour to him to become the property to a powerfull Faction.

4. The Victories of the new Modell how atchieved.

It pleased God to bestow many Victories upon this Army over the Kings Forces; then strong in bulk, but weakned by Factions, want of pay and other distractions (whereby many of their Commanders not confiding in one another, began to provide for their future safety and subsistence) but above all, they had generally lost the peoples affections. To these their Victories, the constant pay, and supplies, and all other helps and encouragements from a concurring State, which their working and *restlesse Faction* carefully accommodated them withall (far beyond what any other Army had formerly) did much conduce, in so much as they cleared the field, and took in all the enemies Garrisons with so much facility, that to many men they seemed rather *Canponantes bellum quàm belligerantes*, to conquer with silver then with steel: a good Purse is a shrewd weapon.

5. Artifices to make *Cromwell* and his new Modell popular.

Thus this *Faction* having got a Generall fit for their turn, and a Lieutenant Generall wholly theirs in judgment and interest, were diligent to make him famous and popular, by casting upon him the honour of other mens Atchievements and valour. The News-books taught to speak no language but *Cromwell* and his Party; and were mute in such actions as he and they could claim no share in: for which purpose the Presses were narrowly watched. When any great exploit was half atchieved, and the difficulties overcome, *Cromwell* was sent to finish it, and take the glory to himself, all other men must be eclipsed that *Cromwell* (the *Knight of the Sun* and *Don Quixote* of the *Independents*) and his Party may shine the brighter.

6. The new Modell new-modelled by degrees to put the Sword into the hands of Schismaticks.

And that *Cromwell's* Army might be sutable to himself, and their Designes carried on without interruption or observation of such as are not of their Principles, all the Sectaries of *England* are invited to be Reserves to this Army: and all pretences of scandals and crimes laid hold of at their own Councels of War to cashеer and disband the *Presbyterian* party, that *Independents* might be let into their rooms, though such as (for the most part) never drew Sword before: so that this Army (which boasteth it self for the Deliverer, nay the Conquerour of two Kingdomes) is

no

no more the ſame that fought at *Nazeby*, then Sir *Francis Drake's* Ship that brought him home can be called the ſame Ship that carried him forth about the Earth, having been ſo often repaired, and thereby ſuffered ſo many ſubſtractions and additions, that hardly any part of the old Veſſell remained. It was therefore *nominally* and *formally*, not *really* and *materially* the ſame.

The ſaid *Myſtery of the two Junto's* farther tels you, that the *Independent Junto* bottomed all their hopes and intereſts upon keeping up this Army; whereby to give the Law to King, Kingdome, Parliament, and City, and to eſtabliſh that *Chimæra* called *Liberty of Conſcience*. That this was *Cromwell's* ambition formerly, the Earle of *Mancheſter's* aforeſaid Charge againſt *Cromwell* (though let fall without proſecution, leſt ſo great a myſtery ſhould be diſcovered) makes it propable, and his later practiſes (upon which I now fall) makes it infallible.

7. The Army Voted to be Disbanded through *Cromwell's* craft.

The Houſes long ſince (for eaſe of the people) in a full and free Parliament ordained the disbanding of this Army, onely 5000 Horſe, 1000 Dragoons, and ſome few Fire-locks to be continued in pay for ſafety of this Kingdome, and ſome of them to be ſent for *Ireland*: for which purpoſe they borrowed 200000l. of the City, (being the ſame ſumme which disbanded the *Scots*) and for the reſt of their Arrears they were to have Debenters and ſecurity, without all exceptions: ſuch tearms of advantage as no other disbanded Souldiers have had the like; neither are theſe like to attaine to again; ſo that they have brought the Souldiers into a *loſſe*, as well as into a *labyrinth*: there continuing in Armes without, nay againſt *lawfull Authority*, being a manifeſt act of *Treaſon* & *Rebellion*; and ſo it is looked upon by the whole Kingdome; nor can the Parliaments ſubſequent Ordinances, (which all men know to be extorted by force, as hereafter ſhall appear) help them.

To the paſſing of this Ordinance, *Cromwell's* Proteſtations in the Houſe, with his hand upon his breſt, *In the preſence of Almighty God before whom he ſtood, that he knew the Army would diſband and lay down their Armes at their dore, whenſoever they ſhould command them*, conduced much: This was malitiouſly done of *Cromwell* to ſet the Army at a greater diſtance with the *Preſbyterian* Party, and bring them and the *Independent* Party neerer

together; he knew the Army abominated nothing more then Diſbanding and returning to their old Trades: and would hate the Authors thereof.

8. Agitators raiſed by *Cromwel.*

And at the ſame time when he made theſe *proteſts* in the Houſe, he had his *Agitators* (*Spirits* of his and his Son *Ireton's conjuring up* in the Army, though ſince *conjured down* by them without requitall) to animate them againſt the major part of the Houſe (under the notion of *Royaliſts*, a *Malignant party*, and *Enemies to the Army*) to ingage them *againſt Diſbanding* and *going for* Ireland, and to make a Trayterous Comment upon the ſaid Ordinance, to demand an *Act of Indemnity*, and relie upon the advice of Judge *Jenkins* for the validity of it, and to inſiſt upon many other high demands, ſome private, as Souldiers; ſome publick, as States-men.

9. The beginning of the project to purge the Houſes.

10. The Army put into mutiny againſt the Parliament, whereby *Cromwell* monopolizeth the Army.

Cromwell having thus by mutinying the Army againſt the Parliament, made them his owne, and *monopolized* them, as he did formerly his *Brew-houſe* at *Ely* (which he might eaſily do, having before-hand filled moſt of the chief Offices in the Army with his owne kindred, allyes, and friends: of whoſe numerous family, Lieut. Col. *Lilburne* gives you a liſt in one of his Books) he now flies to the Army, doubting (his practiſes diſcovered) he might be impriſoned: where he and *Ireton* aſſuming Offices to themſelves, acted without Commiſſion; having not only been ouſted by the *ſelf-denying Ordinance*, (if it be of any power againſt the *godly*) but alſo their ſeverall Commiſſions being then expired: and Sir *Thomas Farfax* having no authority to make generall Officers, as appears by his Commiſſion, (if he make any account of it) and therefore *Sprig*, alias *Nathaniel Fines*, in his Legend or Romance of this Army, called *Anglia Rediviva*, ſets down two Letters ſent from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* to the Speaker *William Lenthall*, one to deſire *Cromwell's* continuance in the Army: another of thanks for ſo long forbearing him from the Houſe: ſee *Ang. Red.* p. 10, 11, 29. which needed not, had he been an Officer of the Army.

11. *Cromwell's* Family in the Army.

12. *Cromwell* and *Ireton* uſurp Offices in the Army.

And now both of them bare-faced, and openly joyne with the Army at *Newmarket*, in trayterous Engagements, Declarations, Remonſtrances, and Manifeſto's; and Petitions penn'd by *Cromwell* himſelf, were ſent to ſome Counties, to be ſubſcribed againſt ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed Obſtructers of Juſtice, and Invaders of the Peoples Liberties in Parliament, and the Army at *Newmarket* and *Triploheath* prompted to cry, *juſtice, juſtice*, againſt them; and high and treaſonable demands, deſtructive to the fundamentall Priviledges of Parliament were publickly inſiſted upon; many of which for quietneſſe ſake, and out of compaſſion to bleeding *Ireland* were granted: yet theſe reſtleſſe ſpirits (hurried on to farther deſignes) made one impudent demand beget another; and when by Letters and otherwiſe they had promiſed, *that if their then preſent demands were granted, they would there ſtop and acquieſce*; yet when they ſeemed to have done, they had not done, but deluded and evaded all hopes of peace by miſ-apprehenſions and miſconſtructions of the Parliaments conceſſions; making the miſinterpretation of one grant, the generation of another demand, ſo that almoſt ever ſince the Parliament hath nothing elſe to do but encounter this *Hydra*, and *roll this ſtone*.

13. Securing *Oxford*, and plundring the King from *Holdenby*.

Having thus debauched the Army, he plotted in his owne Chamber the ſecuring the Garriſons, Magazine, and Train of Artillery at *Oxford*, and ſurprizing the Kings Perſon at *Holdenby*: which by his inſtrument Coronet *Joyce*, with a commanded Party of Horſe he effected. And when *Joyce* (giving *Cromwell* an account of that action) told him, *he had now the* KING *in his power: Well*, (replied *Cromwell*) *I have then the Parliament in my Pocket*. O inſolent Slave! O ſlaviſh Engliſh, thus to ſuffer your *King* and *Parliament* together with your Wives and Children, Religion, Laws, Liberties and Properties to be captivated by ſo contemptible a Varlet. If our noble Auncеſtors (who vindicated their Liberties, and got *Magna Charta* by the Sword) ſhall look down from Heaven, and ſee their Poſterity ſo cowardly reſigne them to a handfull of bloudy, cheating Schiſmatiques, they will not own us, but take us for *Ruſſian* Slaves, *French* Peaſants, and cry out, That we are a Baſtard brood, *Servi natura*, born for bondage: yet afterwards (having recourſe to his uſuall *familiarity with Almighty God*) *Cromwell* uſed his name to proteſt his ignorance and innocence in that buſineſſe both to the *King and Parliament*; adding an execration upon his Wife and Children to his Proteſtation; yet *Joyce* is ſo free from puniſhment, that he is ſince preferred, and his Arreares paid by their

means.

means. And though both Houſes required the Army to ſend His royall Perſon to *Richmond*, to be there left in the hands of the Parliaments Commiſſioners, whereby both Kingdomes might freely make Addreſſes to Him; (for they had formerly excluded and abuſed the Scots Commiſſioners, contrary to the Law of Nations, and Votes of both Houſes; and yet then granted free acceſſe to the moſt deſperate perſons of the *Kings party*) yet they could obtain no better anſwer from theſe *rebellious Saints*, then *That they deſired no place might be propoſed for His Majeſties reſidence neerer* London, *then where they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be.* This was according to their old threats of marching up to *London*, frequently uſed, when any thing went contrary to their deſires. They knew what dangerous and troubleſome gueſts we ſhould find them here.

Manifeſto of the Army, *June* 27. 1647.

How much is this Army degenerated ſince *Cromwell* and his demure white-livered Son-in-law *Ireton* poyſoned their manners with new Principles? *Anglia Rediviva, p.* 247. tels us that about *Woodſtock* private overtures were made by ſome from Court for receiving His Majeſty, who was minded to caſt Himſelf upon the Army: but ſuch was their faithfulneſſe in that point, that conceiving it derogatory to the honour and power of Parliament, (for His Majeſty to wave that higheſt Court, and addreſſe Himſelf to any others) and therefore inconſiſtent with their truſt and duty, being Servants of the State, they certified the Parliament thereof, and underſtanding it to be againſt their ſenſe alſo, they abſolutely refuſed to be tampered with. Oh, how faithfull then! how perfidious and *Cromwellized* are they now! let their frequent tampering with the *King* and *His Party*, to the amazement of the Kingdome, and the *abuſing of the King* teſtifie. Read *Putney Projects* written by a conſiderable Officer of the Army, and a friend to *Cromwell*, though not to his falſe practiſes.

14. Their project to keep the Parliament in wardſhip.

Having thus gotten the *King* (the *firſt* and moſt viſible legall authority of *England*) into their poſſeſſion; their next deſigne is to get the *Parliament* (the *ſecond* legall authority of *England*) into their power.

15. Purging the Houſes again.

This could not be effected but by purging the two Houſes of *Presbyterian* Members (eſpecially the moſt active, and ſuch as had laboured their Disbanding) that an *Independent* Parliament and Army

Army might governe the Kingdome: In order to which deſigne they ſent to the Houſe of Commons in the name of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the *Army*, a generall and confuſed Charge of High Treaſons and other miſ-demeanors againſt *eleven Members*, for things done (for the moſt part in the Houſe) and many of the principall, ſuch as the Houſe had long before examined and acquitted them of, and ſuch as the whole Kingdome knows *Cromwell* and *Ireton* to be apparantly guilty of: as, *Trucking with the King, &c.* 16. Accuſing the 11 Members.

One chief Article inſiſted upon in the Charge was, *That by their power in the Houſe they cauſed the Ordinance for Diſbanding this Army to paſſe.* Here you ſee where the ſhooe wrings them. This Charge was not ſubſcribed by any Informer that ingaged to make it good, or elſe to ſuffer puniſhment, and make the Houſe and the Parties accuſed, reparations: as by the *Stat.* 25 *Ed.*3. *c.*4. 27 *Ed.*3. *c.*18. 38 *Ed.*3. *c.*9. 17 *R.*2. *c.*6. 15 *H.*6. *c.*4. but eſpecially by 31 *H.*6. *c.*1. concerning *Jacke Cade* (which comes neareſt this caſe) ought to be: And they profeſſed in the 2,3,4. Article of their Charge, *That they were diſ-obliged and diſ-couraged from any farther engagement in the Parliament ſervice, or* Irelands *preſervation; and demanded the Houſe ſhould forthwith ſuſpend the impeached Members from any longer ſitting and acting.* Whereupon, the Houſe after full debate in a full and free Parliament, *Reſolved*, June 25. 1647. *That by the Laws of the Land no Judgment could be given for their ſuſpenſion upon that generall Charge, before particulars produced, and proofs made.* Yet the Army (which had now learned onely to acquieſce in their own prudence and juſtice) inſolently threatned to march up to *Weſtminſter* againſt the Parliament, in caſe the ſaid 11 Members were not ſuſpended: and courted the City of *London* to ſit Newters, and let them work their will with the Parliament. 17. Threats to march up to *London*. 18. *London* ſolicited to ſit Neuters.

The 11. impeached members therefore modeſtly withdrew to free the Houſe from ſuch danger as they might incur by protecting them, as in juſtice and honour they were bound to doe. After this, the Army ſent in their particular Charge: and libellouſly publiſhed it in Print by their own Authority. To which the 11 Members ſent in, and publiſhed their Anſwer. Upon which there hath been no Proſecution, becauſe they pretend firſt

to ſettle the Kingdome, but if they ſtay till theſe fellows have either authority, will, or skill to ſettle the Kingdome, they ſhall not need to make ready for their Tryall till Dooms-day. Here you have a whole Army for Accuſers, and the chief Officers of the Army (being Members of the Houſe) not only accuſers, but parties, Witneſſes, and Judges, and carrying the rules of Court, and Laws by which they judge, in their Scabards. And the Charge or Impeachment, ſuch (as all men know) *mutatis mutandis* are more ſutable to *Cromwells* and *Iretons* actions, then the accuſed Parties. If the proceedings in the Kings name againſt the 5 Members mentioned in *The exact Collection, part* 1. *p.*38. were Voted *A Trayterous deſigne againſt King and Parliament*; and the arreſting any of them upon the Kings Warrant, *an Act of publick enmity againſt the Common-wealth*: How much more *Treaſonable* were theſe proceedings; and the Armies March towards *London* to enforce them; and their arreſting *Anthony Nichols*, having the Speakers Paſſe, and leave of the Houſe; Colonell *Burch*, being upon ſervice of the Parliament going for *Ireland*; and Sir *Samuel Luke*, reſting quiet in his own Houſe?

19. The firſt occaſion of quarrell againſt the City.

Whilſt theſe things were acting, *Cromwell* finding he could not have his will upon the Parliament, but that he muſt make the City of *London* (who had denied the neutrality) his Enemies, caſt about how to cheat the Country people of their affections; (for to have both City and Country his Enemies in the poſture his Army was then in, was dangerous) he therefore by many Printed books and papers, ſpread all *England* over by his *Agitators*, and by ſome journy-men Prieſts (whoſe *Pulpits* are the beſt *Juglers Boxes* to deceive the ſimple) *Abſolon*-like, wooeth them to make loud complaints of the preſſures and grievances of the People: to neglect the King and the Parliament, and make Addreſſes to the Army as their onely *Saviours*, the Arbitrators of Peace, Reſtorers of our Laws, Liberties and Properties, Setlers of Religion, Preſervers of all juſt Intereſts: pretended to ſettle the King in His juſt Rights and Prerogatives; to uphold the Priviledges of Parliament, eſtabliſh Religion, to reform, and bring to account all Committees, Sequeſtrators, and all others that had defiled their fingers with publique money, or goods; To free the people from that all-devouring Exciſe and other Taxes; To re-

20. Courting and cheating the Country and all other Intereſts, to lull them aſleep till the Grandees had wrought their will upon City and Houſes.

21. Petitions to the Army, and for the Army.

dreſſe

dreſſe undue elections of Members; To relieve *Ireland*: Things impoſſible to be performed by an Army, and now totally forgotten; ſo that they have onely accepted of their owne private demands as Souldiers; That the Parliament ſhould owne them for *their Army*; Eſtabliſh pay for them; put the whole *Militia* of this Kingdome, and *Ireland*, both by Sea and Land, into their Hands; and Vote againſt all oppoſite Forces. But they are now become the onely Protectors of all corrupt Committee-men, Sequeſtrators, Accomptants to the State, and all other facinorous perſons, who comply with them to keep up this Army, for their own ſecurity againſt publick juſtice.

Having thus courted and cheated all the publick and juſt Intereſts of the Kingdome, they deceived the people ſo far as to make them *Iſſachar*-like, patiently to bear the *burden* of *free-quarter*, and to make addreſſes to the Army for themſelves, by Petitions, to which they gave plauſible anſwers, That *this*, and *This* was *the ſenſe of the Army*: as if the ſenſe of the Army had been the ſupream Law of the Land, and to make addreſſes to the Parliament for the Army not to be *diſbanded*, (for which purpoſe their *Agitators* carried Petitions ready penn'd to be ſubſcribed in moſt Counties.)

22. A quarrell againſt the City invented.

The people being thus lulled aſleep, they now caſt about how to make benefit of a joynt quarrell both againſt the Parliament and City, (ſince they could not ſeparate them) or at leaſt againſt the *Preſbyterian party* in both; They had withdrawn their *quarters* (in a ſeeming obedience to Parliaments commands) 30 miles from *London*, (of which they often brag in their Papers) and preſumed the ſuſpenſion of the 11 *Members*, had ſtrook ſuch an awfulneſſe into the Houſes, that moſt of the *Preſbyterian Members* would either abſent themſelves (as too many indeed did) or turn Renegadoes from their own principles to them: but found themſelves notwithſtanding oppoſed, and their deſires retarded (beyond their expectation) by the remainder of that Party. They muſt therefore find out a quarrell to march againſt the City, and give the Houſes another *purge*, ſtronger then the former.

23. The Army demand the City-Militia to be changed into other hands.

The Army being principled, and put into a poſture ſutable to *Cromwells* deſire, and the Country charmed into a dull ſleep, now was his time to pick a quarrell with the City, that what he could

not obtaine by faire meanes, he might effect by foule, to make them deſert and divide from the Parliament, and leave it to be modelled according to the diſcretion of the Souldiery. He could not think it agreeable to policy, that this City which had ſlaine his Compeere and fellow Prince *Wat Tyler* (the Idoll of the Commons in *Rich.*2. time) and routed his Followers (four times as many in number as his Army) ſhould be truſted with their own *Militia*: The City being now farre greater, more populous and powerfull then in his daies. In a full and free Parliament upon mature debate, both Houſes by Ordinance (dated 4. *May*, 1647.) had eſtabliſhed the *Militia of the City of London* for a *year*, in the hands of ſuch Citizens as by their Authority and approbation were nominated by the Lord Major, Aldermen, and Common-Councell; and though the Army had recruited it ſelf without Authority, and had got themſelves inveſted with the whole power of all the Land forces of the Kingdom in pay of the Parliament; ſo that there was nothing left that could be *formidable* to them but *their owne crimes*; and that it was expected they ſhould go roundly to work upon thoſe publick remedies they had ſo often held forth to the people in their popular printed Papers: yet the Army (contrary to what they promiſed to the City in their *Letter*, 10. *June*, and their *Declaration*, or Repreſentation, 14. *June*, 1647. *That they would not go beyond their deſires at that time expreſſed, and for other particulars would acquieſce in the juſtice and wiſdome of the Parliament* (behold their modeſty!) by a *Letter* and *Remonſtrance* from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and the *Army*, with unreſiſtable boldneſſe demand the *Militia* of the City of *London* to be returned into other hands, without acquainting the City or their Commiſſioners (then reſident in the Army to keep a good correſpondency with them) therewith. Upon which Letter alone the Houſe of Commons (being very thin, and many Members driven away by menaces) upon *July* 22. Voted the repealing the ſaid Vote of 4. *May*, and a new Ordinance for reviving the *old Militia*, preſently paſſed and tranſmitted to the Lords the ſame day about ſeven of the clock at night, and there preſently paſſed without debate; though moved by ſome to be put off untill the City (whoſe ſafety and priviledges it highly concerned) were heard what they could ſay to it.

See the Letter and Remonſtrance from Sir *Thos. Fairfax* and the Army, *p.*8,9.

Obſerve

Observe that neither by the said Paper from the Army; nor by any man in the two Houses, any thing was objected against any of the *new Militia.*

And indeed, formerly the Parliament never made choice of, enlarged or changed the City *Militia,* but they were still pleased first to communicate the same to the Common Councell. A respect justly shewed to that City which had been such good friends to them. But of late, since the Parliament have shifted their old Principles and Interests, they have learned to lay by their old friends. The pretence for this hasty passing the Ordinance, was to prevent the Armies so much threatned-march to *London,* if the Houses refused to passe it; and the Cities opposition, if not passed before their notice of it. But the reall designe was to strike a discontent and jealousie into the City, thereby to force them to some act of self-defence, which might give a colour to the Army to march up against them, and their friends in the Houses.

24. The City troubled at the change of their *Militia.*

The unexpected newes of this changing their *Militia*, caused the City (*June* 24. being Saturday) to meet in Common Councell, where, (for some reasons already expressed) and because the repealing this Ordinance upon no other grounds then the Armies imperious desires, might justly be suspected, to shake all other Ordinances, for security of mony, sale of Bishops Lands, by making them repealable at the Armies pleasure; they resolved to petition the Houses upon munday morning following, being 26. *July*, which they did by the Sheriffs, and some Common Councell men: But so it hapned that about *one thousand Apprentices* wholly unarmed, came down two or three howers after with another *Petition*, of their own, to the Houses: Therein claiming, that *to order the City Militia was the Cities* Birth-right *belonging to them by Charters, confirmed in Parliaments, for defence whereof they had adventured their lives as far as the Army. And desired the Militia might be put again into the same hands in which it was put with the Parliaments and Cities consent by Ordinance*, May. 4.

I appeal to Colonel *Harry*, whether this did not fright him.

25. The City petition the Houses for their *Militia* again.

26. The Tumult of Apprentices, 26. *July.*

Upon reading these Petitions, the Lords were pleased to revoke the Ordinance of *July* 23. and revive that of *May* the 4. by a new Ordinance of *July* 26. which they presently sent downe to the Commons for their *consents*, where some of the Apprentices (presuming they might have as great an influence upon the House to

obtain *their due*,' as the Army in pay of the Parliament had to obtain *more then their due*)in a childiſh heat were over-clamorous to have the Ordinance paſſed, refuſing to let ſome Members paſſe out of the Houſe, or come forth into the Lobby when they were to divide upon the queſtion about it, (ſo ignorant were they of the cuſtoms of the Houſe) which at laſt paſſed in the Affirmative about three of the clock afternoon: and then moſt of the Apprentices departed quietly into the City. After which, ſome diſorderly perſons (very few of them Apprentices) were drawn together and inſtigated by divers Sectaries and friends of the Army who mingled with them (amongſt whom, one *Highland* was obſerved to be all that day very active; who afterwards (*26. Sept.*) delivered a Petition to the Houſe againſt thoſe Members that ſate, and was an Informer and Witneſſe examined about the ſaid *Tumult*) gathered about the Commons dore and grew very outragious, compelling the *Speaker* to return to the *Chaire* after he had adjourned the Houſe; and there kept the Members in untill they had paſſed a Vote, *That the King ſhould come to* London *to Treat.*

27. The Tumult of Apprentices ceaſed; but artificially continued by Sectaries.

This was cunningly and premeditately contrived, to encreaſe *the ſcandall upon the City*; yet when the Common Councell of *London* heard of this diſorder as they were then ſitting; they preſently ſent down the *Sheriffs* to their reſcue with ſuch ſtrength as they could get ready (their *Militia* being then unſetled by the contradicting Ordinances of the Parliament) who at laſt pacified the Tumult, and ſent the *Speaker* ſafe home; which was as much as they could do in this intervall of their *Militia*, being the Houſes own Act.

The Lords adjourned until the next Friday; the Commons but untill the next day. Tueſday morning the *Commons* ſate againe quietly, and after *ſome debate* adjourned untill Friday next, becauſe the *Lords* had done ſo.

28. The Speaker of the Commons complained of a report, that he meant to flie to the Army: yet ran away to the Army.

The next day being Wedneſday, the *monthly Faſt*, the *Speaker* and *Members* met in *Weſtminſter* Church: where the *Speaker* complained (in ſome paſſion) to Sir *Ralph Aſhton* and other Members, of a ſcandalous report raiſed on him in the *City*, as if he intended to deſert the Houſe, and flie to the Army, ſaying, *he ſcorned to doe ſuch a baſe, unjuſt, diſhonourable act; but would rather die in his Houſe and Chaire:* which being ſpoken in a time and place

place of ſo much reverence and devotion, makes many think his ſecret retreat to the Army (the very next day) proceeded not ſo much from his own judgment, as from ſome ſtrong threats from *Cromwell* and *Ireton* (who were the chief *Contrivers* of this deſperate *plot* to divide the *City* and *Houſes*, and bring up the *Army* to *enthrall them both*) *That if he did not comply with their deſires, they would cauſe the Army to impeach him for conſening the State of many vaſt ſums of money.*

And truly, I remember I have ſeen an intercepted *Letter*, ſent about the time of his flight, from the Army to *William Lenthall* Speaker, without any name ſubſcribed to it, only the two laſt lines were of *John Ruſhworths* hand; earneſtly importuning *him to retire to the Army, with his friends.*

29. The City proclaim againſt Tumults.

On Thurſday morning early, the newly renewed *Militia* of *London*, made publike Proclamation throughout the City & Suburbes, and ſet up printed Tickets at *Weſtminſter*, *That if any perſon ſhould diſturb either of the two Houſes, or their Members, the Guards ſhould apprehend them, and if reſiſtance were made, kil them*: yet notwithſtanding, the Speaker and his party (carrying the cauſes of their fear in their own conſciences) in the evening of that day ſecretly ſtole away to *Windſor* to the Head-quarters.

30. The Houſes appeare, the Sreakers being at the Army.

Upon Friday morning at leaſt 140. of the Members aſſembled in the Houſe (they that fled being about 40.) whither the Sergeant comming with his *mace*, being asked where the *Speaker was?* anſwered, *he knew not well; that he had not ſeen him that morning, and was told that he went a little way out of Town laſt night*; but ſaid, *he expected his return to the Houſe this morning*: after that, being more ſtrictly queſtioned about the *Speaker* he withdrew himſelf, and would not be found, till the Houſe (after four hours expectation; and ſending ſome of their Members to the *Speakers houſe*, who brought word from his *ſervants*, that *they conceived he was gone to the Army*) had choſen *a new Speaker*, Maſter *Henry Pelham*, and a new *Sergeant*, who procured another *Mace*. The like (*mutatis mutandis*) was done by the *Lords*, to prevent diſcontinuance and fayler of the Parliament for want of *Speakers* to *adjourne* and ſo to *continue it*; and take away all ſcruples.

31. New Speakers choſen.

32. Petition and engagement of the City.

As for the *Petition and Engagement of the City* (ſo much aggravated

vated by the *Independent party*) it was directed to the *Lord Major, Aldermen,* and *Common Councell* from divers *Citizens, Commanders* and *Souldiers,* and was occaſioned by ſome intelligence they had, that *the Army would demand an alteration of the City Militia, in order to a deſigne they had againſt the City.* It was only intended to the *Common Hall,* but never preſented, as the *Souldiers Petition* was to their *Generall,* which being taken notice of by the Parliament as it was in agitation, was ſo much reſented by the Souldiery as to put themſelves into the poſture they are now in (as Lieut. Col. *Lilburne* ſaies in one of his Books) to act no longer by their *Commiſſions,* but by the principles of nature and ſelf-defence. Nor did the ſaid *engagement* contain any thing but *reſolutions of ſelf-defence in relation to the City*; ſo that we cannot ſee what the Army had to doe to declare their ſenſe upon it in their *Letter,* 23. *July,* and ſo put a prejudice upon it in the Houſes. I have inſiſted the more particularly upon this *Grand Impoſture* as being the *anvile* upon which they hammered moſt of their ſubſequent deſignes, *violent* and *illegall accuſations.*

33. Votes paſſed after new Speakers choſen.

The new *Speakers* choſen; the *two Houſes proceeded to Vote and Act, as a Parliament.*

And firſt, *the Houſe of Commons voted in the eleven impeached Members:* next, *they revive and ſet up againe the Committee of Safety by Ordinance of both Houſes, enabling them to joyne with the Committee of the reſtored City Militia, giving power by ſeverall Ordinances to them, to Liſt and raiſe Forces, appoint Commanders and Officers, iſſue forth Armes and Ammunition for defence of both Houſes and the City againſt all that ſhould invade them.* Which Votes and preparations for their ſelf-defence (warranted by the ſame Law of Nature, as the *Armies Papers* affirme) were not paſſed, nor put in execution untill the Army (every day recruited contrary to the Houſes *Orders*) were drawing towards *London,* and had with much ſcorn diſ-obeyed the Votes and Letter of both Houſes, prohibiting them *to come within thirty Miles of London.*

34. Members engagement with the Army.

The Army, to countenance their Rebellion, *draw the two Speakers and fugitive Members to ſit in conſultation, and paſſe Votes promiſcuouſly with the Councell of War in the nature of a Parliament, and to ſigne an Engagement* (dat. 4. Auguſt.) *to live and die*

die with Sir Thomas Fairfax *and the Army under his command*; affirming therein, *that generally throughout their ſenſe agreeth with the Declaration of Sir* Tho: Fairfax, *and his Councell of War*; *ſhewing the grounds of their preſent advance towards the City of* London. In which *Declaration*, the Councell of the Army take upon them, To be *ſupreame Judges over the Parliament*: Telling you who of the two Houſes they hold for perſons in whom the publike truſt of the Kingdome remaineth, and by whoſe advice they mean to govern themſelves in managing the weighty affairs of the Kingdome: They declare againſt the late *choice* of a *new Speaker* by ſome Gentlemen at *Weſtminſter*; and that as things now ſtand, there is no free nor legall Parliament ſitting, being through the violence (*29 July*) ſuſpended. That the *Orders* and *Votes*, *&c.* paſſed *26. July* laſt, and all ſuch as ſhall paſſe in this Aſſembly of ſome few Lords and Gentlemen at *Weſtminſter* are void and null, and ought not to be ſubmitted unto.

Behold here, not only a power *without the Parliament Houſes*, judging of the very *eſſence of a Parliament*, and the validity of their reſolutions, but uſurping to themſelves a *negative Voice*, which they deny to the KING; and yet a Schiſmaticall faction in the two Houſes complying with them, and betraying and proſtituting the very being, honour, and all the fundamentall Rights and Priviledges of this and all future Parliaments, to an Army of Rebels who refuſe to obey their Maſters, and disband.

This Engagement ſo over-leavened the Army, that their bruti ſh Generall ſent forth Warrants *to raiſe the Trained Bands* of ſome Counties to march with him againſt the City and both Houſes: Although Trained Bands are not under pay of the Parliament; and therefore not under *Command of the Generall*, by any Order or Ordinance. But, what will not *a Foole in Authority* doe, when he *is poſſeſſed by Knaves*? Miſerable man! His foolery hath ſo long waited upon *Cromwell's* and *Ireton's* knavery, that it is not ſafe for him now *to ſee his folly*, and throw by his *Cap with a Bell* and *his Bable*.

The Earle of *Eſſex* died ſo opportunely, that many ſuſpected his death was artificiall.

Yet *the City* were ſo deſirous of Peace, that they *ſent Commiſſioners* ſundry times *to the Army* to mediate an Accord; who could

35. The City ſend Commiſſioners to the Army, *Fowkes*, *Gibs*, an *Eaſtweek*, by whom they are betrayed.

could obtaine no more equall tearmes of Agreement then that, *They should yeild to desert both Houses, and the impeached Members: Call in their Declaration newly Printed and published: Relinquish the Militia: Deliver up all their Forts and Line of Communication to the Army*; *together with the Tower of* London, *and all the Magazines and Armes therein: Disband all their Fortes: Turn all the Reformado's out of the Line: Withdraw all their Guards from the Houses: Receive such Guards of Horse and Foot within the Line, as the Army should appoint to Guard the Houses: Demolish their Works: and suffer the whole Army to march in triumph through the City, as Conquerors of it and the Parliament, and* (as they often give out) *of the whole Kingdome:* tearmes which they might have had from the Great Turke, had he sate down before them and broken ground.

All which was suddenly and dishonourably yeilded to, and executed accordingly, by such an Army as was not able to fight with one halfe of the City, had they been united: But they are the *Devils seeds-men*, and have sown the *Cockle of Heresie and Schisme*, so aboundantly in City and Country (especially amongst the more beggerly sort) that these men joyning Principles and Interests with the Army, weaken the hands of all opponents. They often brag that they made a civill March, free from Plunder: I Answer, they neither durst, nor could do otherwise: their Souldiers being ill Armed, and so few, that they were not able to keep stands in the Streets, and keep the Avenues while their Fellowes dispersed to Plunder. *Charles* 8. with a far greater, and more Victorious Hoast, durst not offer violence to the far lesse City of *Florence* when *Signior Caponi* put an affront upon him in the Town-house; Bidding him *beat his Drums, and they would ring their Bells.*

36. The fugitive Members returned.

Upon the 6. of *August*, 1647. The Generall brought the fugitive Speakers and Members to the Houses with a strong Party, (who might have returned sooner without a Guard, had not their owne crimes and designes hindred them) the two Palaces filled with armed Guards, double Files clean through *Westminster-hall*, up the staires to the House of Commons, and so through the Court of Request to the Lords House, and down stairs again into the old Palace. The Souldiers looking scornfully upon many

Members

Members that had ſate in the abſence of the Speaker, and threatning to cut ſome of their throats. And all things compoſed to ſo ridiculous a terrour, as if they would *beſpeak* (without *ſpeaking*) the abſence of thoſe Members that ſate; placed the Speakers in the Chaires without Vote, out of which they had been juſtly Voted for deſerting their calling; where the Generall was placed in a *Chaire of State*, (enough to make a foole of any man that was not fit for it) and received ſpeciall thanks for his ſervice from both Speakers. And in the ſecond place, *a day of thanksgiving* was appointed to God; (I think) for his patience in not ſtriking theſe Atheiſticall Saints with thunder and lightning for making him a ſtale to their premeditated villanies.

Here Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, with a breath (and before any man that was not privy to the deſigne, could recover out of his amazement) was made *Generaliſſimo* of all the Forces and Forts of *England and Wales*; to diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure: *Conſtable* of the Tower of *London*. The common Souldiers Voted *one Months gratuity*, beſides their pay (the Commons being in good caſe to *give gifts* before they *pay'd debts*:) left to the diſcretion of the Generall to ſet what Guards he pleaſed upon the two Houſes. Whereby you may perceive in what unequall condition thoſe Members that did not run away with the Speaker, doe now ſit; after ſo many reiterated threats of the Generall againſt them in his printed Papers.

37. The Armies march in Triumph through the City: with other ſubſequent Acts.

After this, the Generall, Lieutenant Generall, Major Generall *Skippon* (heretofore Waggoner to Sir *Francis Pere*, and one that hath got well by ſerving the City) and the whole Army, with the Traine of Artillery, marched through *London* in ſo great pomp and triumph, as if they would have the people underſtand that the Authority of the Kingdome (in whoſe hands ſoever it remains in theſe doubtfull times) muſt ſubmit to the *power of the Sword*, the hilt and handle whereof they hold. They *turne out the Lieutenant of the Tower without cauſe ſhewne*. The conſequences of theſe two actions were, that immediately the City decayed in Trade above 200000l. a week; and no more Bullion came to the Mint.

They diſplace all other Governours, though placed by Ordinance of Parliament, and put in men of their own party; for this

incroaching Faction will have all in their own hands: they alter and divide the Militia of *London*, ſetting up particular Militia's at *Weſtminſter*, *Southwarke*, and the *Hamlets of the Tower*, that being ſo divided they may be the weaker: Demoliſh the Lines of Communication, that the City and Parliament may lie open to Invaſion when they pleaſe, and fright many more Members from the Houſes with threats, and fear of falſe Impeachments.

The 11. impeached Members, having leave by Order of the Houſe, and licence of the Speaker ſome to go beyond Sea; and *Anthony Nicholls* to go into his owne Country to ſettle his Affairs: ſome of them (as Sir *William Waller* and Mr. *Den: Hollis*) were attached upon the Sea; *Nicholls* arreſted upon the way into *Cornwall* by the Army, and deſpightfully uſed; and when the Generall was inclined to free him, *Cromwell* (whoſe malice is known to be as unquenchable as his Noſe) told him *he was a Traytour to the Army*. You ſee now upon whom they meane to fix the *peoples allegiance*, (for where no *Allegiance* is due, there can be no *Treaſon*) and to what purpoſe they have ſince by their 4 Votes (firſt debated between the *Independent Grandees* of the Houſes and Army) laid aſide the King, and (as much as in them is) taken off our Allegiance from Him.

Col: *Birch* formerly imployed for *Ireland* by the Parliament, was impriſoned, and his men mutinied againſt him by the Army: and Sir *Sam: Luke* reſting quietly in his own houſe, was there ſeized upon and carried Priſoner into the Army.

All theſe acts of terror were but ſo many Scar-crows ſet up to fright more Presbyterians from the Houſes, and make the Army Maſters of their Votes.

38. Proceedings of both Houſes under the power of the Army.

I muſt in the next place fall upon *the proceedings in both Houſes*, acted under *the power* and influence of this all-inſlaving, all-devouring *Army*, and their engaged party. To attain the knowledge whereof, I have uſed my utmoſt induſtry and intereſt with many my neer friends and kinſmen ſitting within thoſe walls, heretofore (when KINGS, not *Brewers* and *Draymen*, were in power) the walls of publique liberty.

39. Ordinance to Null and Void all Acts paſſed in abſence of the two renegado Speakers.

The Lords that ſate in abſence of the two Speakers (all but the Earle of *Pembroke*, whoſe eaſie diſpoſition made him fit for all companies) found it their ſafeſt courſe to forbear the Houſe, leaving

leaving it to be poſſeſſed by thoſe few Lords that went to, and engaged with the Army: which engaged Lords ſent to the Commons for their concurrence to an Ordinance, *To make all Acts, Orders, and Ordinances, paſſed from the* 26 July, (when the Tumult was upon the Houſes) *to the* 6 *of* Auguſt *following* (being the day of the fugitive Members returne) *void and null* ab initio. This was five or ſix ſeverall daies severally and fully debated, as often put to the queſtion, and carried in the Negative every time: yet the Lords ſtill renewed the ſame Meſſage to them, beating back their Votes into their throats, and would not acquieſce, but upon every deniall put them again to roll the ſame ſtone, contrary to the priviledges of the Commons.

40. Menaces uſed by the engaged party in the Houſe.

The chief Arguments uſed by the engaged party were all grounded upon the common places of *feare* and *neceſſity*. Mr. Solicitor threatning if they did not concur, the Lords were reſolved to vindicate the Honour of their Houſe, and ſit no more: they muſt have recourſe to the power of the Sword; the longeſt Sword take all. *That they were all engaged to live and die with the Army. They ſhould have a ſad time of it. Haſlerigge* uſed the like language, farther ſaying, *Some Heads muſt flie off; and he feared, the Parliament of* England *would not ſave the Kingdome of* England, *they muſt looke another way for ſafety. They could not ſatisfie the Army but by declaring all void* ab initio; *and the Lords were ſo farre engaged, that no middle way would ſerve.* To this was anſwered, *That this was an Appeale from the Parliament to the Army.* And when theſe and many more threats of as high nature were complained of *as deſtructive to the liberty and being of Parliaments*; the Speaker would take no notice of it. Sir *Henry Vane junior*, Sir *John Evelin junior*, *Prydeaux*, *Gourdon*, *Mildmay*, *Thomas Scott*, *Cornelius Holland*, and many more, uſed the like threats.

41. A threatning Remonſtrance from the Army to the Houſe.

Upon the laſt Negative (being the fift or ſixth) the Speaker (perceiving greater enforcements muſt be uſed) pulled a Letter out of his pocket, *from the Generall and generall Councel of the Army*, (for that was now their ſtile) pretending he then received it; But it was conceived he received it over night, with directions to conceale it, if the Queſtion had paſſed the Affirmative. It was accompanied with a *Remonſtrance* full of villanous language and

threats againſt *thoſe Members* that ſate while the two Speakers were with the Army; calling them *pretended Members*, charging them (in generall) with *Treaſon, Treachery, and breach of Truſt*; And proteſted if they ſhall preſume to ſit before they have cleared themſelves, that they did not give their aſſents to ſuch and ſuch Votes, they ſhould ſit at their perill, and he would take them as Priſoners of Warre, and try them at a Councell of Warre.

What King of *England* ever offered ſo great a violence to the fundamentall Priviledges of Parliament, as to deny them the Liberty of Voting *I* and *No* freely? Certainly the *little finger* of a *Jack Cade*, or a *Wat Tyler*, is farre heavier then *the loynes* of any *King*.

Many Members were amazed at this Letter, and it was moved, *That the Speaker ſhould Command all the Members to meet at the Houſe the next day; and ſhould declare, That they ſhould be ſecured from danger: And that it might be Ordered, That no more but the ordinary Guards ſhould attend the Houſe.* But theſe two motions were violently oppoſed with vollies of threats, by the aforeſaid Parties and others. And after more then two houres debate, the Speaker refuſed to put any queſtion upon them, or any of them; and ſo adjourned to the next morning, leaving the *Preſbyterian Members* to meet at their Perill.

The next day being Friday, the 20. *Auguſt*, there was a very thin Aſſembly in the Houſe of Commons; the Houſe having with ſo much violence denied protection to their Members the day before, made moſt of the *Preſbyterian* party abſent. Some went over to the *Independent* party: others ſate mute. At laſt a Committee was appointed preſently to bring in *an Ordinance of Accommodation*; which was ſuddenly done and paſſed, and is now Printed at the latter end of the ſaid menacing *Remonſtrance* of the Army: a Child fit to waite upon ſuch a Mother.

42. Debate in paſſing the Ordinance of null and void.

Thus was this *Ordinance of null and void* gotten (which hath been the cauſe of ſo much danger and trouble to multitudes of people) by the Lords reiterated breaches upon the Priviledges of the Houſe of Commons. The engaged parties threats within dores: the Armies thundring Letters and Remonſtrance: Their Guards

Guards upon their dores, and a Regiment or two of Horſe in *Hide Parke*, ready to make impreſſions upon the Houſe, in caſe things had not gone to their minds: diverſe of whoſe Commanders walking in the Hall, enquired often how things went, proteſting, *they would pull them forth by the Eares if they did not give ſpeedy ſatisfaction.*

Thus for the *manner* of paſſing that Ordinance.

The *matter* of Argument uſed againſt it was (as far as I can hear) to the purpoſe following: It was alleaged that the Force upon Munday, *26. July*, ended that day, that the next day being Tueſday, the Houſe met quietly, and adjourned: that upon Friday following, the Houſes ſate quietly all day, and gave their Votes freely, and ſo forward; the City having ſufficiently provided for their ſecurity, that the tranſient Force upon Munday, could have no influence on the Houſes for time to come.

That the Supream power of no Nation can avoid their owne Acts by pretended force: this would make the common People, the Jurors, and Judges to queſtion all acts done in Parliament, ſince one man can, and may judge of Force as well as another: this were to bring the Records of the Houſe into diſpute: *Magna Charta* was never gotten nor confirmed but by Force: Force was three-fold, *upon one or both Houſes; or upon the King, in giving His Royall Aſſent*; neither could plead it: the Parliament is preſumed to conſiſt of ſuch men as dare lay down their lives for their Country.

When the King came with force to demand the 5 Members: When the City came down crying for juſtice againſt the Earle of *Strafford*: When the Women came downe crying for Peace: When the Reformado's came down in a much more dangerous Tumult then this of the unarmed Apprentices; yet the Houſes continued ſitting and Acting, and none of their Acts were nullified.

That to make their Acts, Orders, and Ordinances void *ab initio*, would draw many thouſand men, who had acted under them, into danger of their lives and fortunes, who had no Authority to diſpute the validity of our Votes: we muſt therefore give them power to diſpute our Acts hereafter upon matter of fact; for to tie men to unlimited and undiſputable obedience to

our

our Votes, and yet to puniſh them for obeying whenſoever we ſhall pleaſe to declare our acts void, *ab initio*, is contrary to all reaſon. If to act upon ſuch Ordinances were criminall, it was more criminall in thoſe that made them. And who ſhal be Judges of thoſe that made them? Not the Members that went to the Army; They are parties pre-ingaged to live and die with the Army; and have approved the *Armies Declaration*, calling thoſe that ſate, *a few Lords and Gentlemen, and no Parliament*: they have joyned with a power out of the Houſes to give a Law to, and put an engagement upon both Houſes; a preſident never heard of before, of moſt dangerous conſequence, it takes away the liberty of giving *I* and *No* freely, being the very life of Parliaments: If all done under an actuall force be void, it is queſtionable whether all hath been done this 4 or 5 years be not void; and whether his Majeſties Royall Aſſent to ſome good Bils paſſed this Parliament, may not be ſaid to have been extorted by force: if the Kings Party prevaile, they will declare this Parliament void, upon the ground your ſelves have laid. 1 *Hen.*7. that King urged the Parliament to make void *ab initio*, all Acts paſſed *Rich.*3. which they refuſed upon this ground, That then they ſhould make all that had Acted in obedience to them liable to puniſhment, onely they repealed thoſe Acts.

Fabian's Hiſtory.

The debate upon this Ordinance *of Null and Void*, held from Munday, 9 of *Aug.* to the 20 *Aug.* (when it was paſſed) but not without ſome interloaping debates of ſomething a different nature, yet all looking the ſame way: occaſioned by *Meſſages* from the Lords: Namely, once upon a Meſſage from them, The ſaid *Declaration* from Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and his Army, concerning their *advance to London* was read and debated in groſſe, whether the *Commons* ſhould concur with the *Lords* in approving it? But almoſt all but the engaged Party and their Penſioners diſtaſted it, it was laid by without any queſtion put, leſt it ſhould prove dangerous to put a Negative upon their Maſters of the Army. Yet many menaces (according to cuſtome) were uſed by the engaged party to get it paſſed; *Haſlerigge* affirming that thoſe Gentlemen that ſate and voted for a *Committee of ſafety*, and the Kings comming to *London*, did drive on the deſigne of the *City Proteſtation* and *Engagement*. To which was Anſwered, *That the*

43. The Lords Meſſage to the Commons to approve the Declaration of the Army.

44. The Committee of Safety.

Committee

Committee of Safety was not then newly erected by thoſe which ſate, but the old Committee revived by that Vote, which had been long ſince erected in a full and free Parliament, when the Army firſt mutinied, and threatned to March to London: *and for the ſame ends, Defence of Parliament and City. And for the* KING'S *comming to* London, *it was Voted only to get Him out of the power of the Army; as formerly in a full and free Parliament he had been voted to* Richmond *for the ſame reaſon.*

45. A Committee to examine the Tumult.

Upon another Meſſage from the Lords, the Commons concurred in an Ordinance to erect a *Committee of Examinations* to inquire into, and examine the *City Petition, Engagement, and the force upon the Houſes 26 July*, and all endeavours to raiſe any Forces, &c. This Committee conſiſted of 22 Commons beſides Lords, almoſt all of them Members engaged with the Army: but becauſe there were ſome three or four Presbyterians gotten in amongſt them, to ſhut theſe *Canaanites* forth, that the *Godly*, the true ſeed of *Iſrael* might ſhuffle the Cardes according to their owne mind, the 13 *Aug.* after (upon another Meſſage from the Lords) there was a *Sub-committee of Secrecy*, named out of this Grand Committee of Examinations, to *examine upon Oath*: the perſons were, the Earle of *Denbigh* and *Mulgrave*, Lord *Gray* of *Warke*, Lord *Howard* of *Eſcrig*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Mr. Solicitor, *Gourdon*, *Miles Corbet*, Alderman *Penington*, *Allen*, *Edwards*, Col. *Ven*, or any three of them. All perſons engaged to live and die with the Army, and now appointed to make a clandeſtine ſcrutiny, and ſearch into the lives and actions of the *Preſbyterian party* that ſate in Parliament doing their duty, when the engaged party fled to the Army, and brought them up in hoſtile manner againſt them.

46. A Sub-committee of Secrecy ſelected to examine the Tumult.

47. Debate upon paſſing the Committee of Secret examinations.

The unreaſonableneſſe of this way of proceeding was much urged; and farther alleaged, that *it was neither conſonant to the Cuſtomes of the Houſe, nor unto common reaſon*, that *a Sub-committee ſhould be choſen out of the Grand Committee of Examinations, with more power then the Grand Committee it ſelfe had, and excluding the reſt of the Committee, under the pretence of Secrecy.* Beſides, *it was againſt the Priviledge of the Houſe of Commons, that the Lords ſhould nominate the Commons in that Sub-committee as well as their owne Members.* But the *Independent Gran-*

dees would have it passe. Breach of Priviledge, and all other considerations are easily swallowed when they are subservient to their present designes.

48. The manner of prosecution & proceeding upon the Tumult.

The party engaged were resolved to be *Examiners*, *Informers*, and *Witnesses*, as well as *parties*, (so active was their malice) and had so well packed their Cards, that eight or nine Schismaticall Lords engaged likewise with them, and the Army should be Judges of the Presbyterian party that sate in absence of the two Speakers, the better to give the two Houses a through Purge, and make them of the same complexion with the Army: without which they had no hopes to divide the power and profit of the Land between themselves by 100000l. 200000l. in a morning shared amongst the Godly; and to make the whole Kingdome to be Gibeonites, hewers of wood, and drawers of water to the faithfull.

49. *Miles Corbet* makes report of Examinations taken at the close Committee. First, against the Committee of Safety.

In order to the playing of this game, *Miles Corbet* (Interpreter to that *State-puppet-play* behind the curtaine, commonly called, *The close Committee of examinations*) upon the 3. *September*, stood up and began his Report from that Inquisition, saying, *He would begin with the Committee of Safety, wherein many Members were concerned, and it was necessary to purge the Houses first.* But further said, *he would suppresse the Names of many of his Witnesses, because the Depositions he should report were but preparatory Examinations, and it would be for service of the State to conceale their Names.*

He first produced many Warrants signed at the *Committee of Safety* by the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Suffolke*, *Middlesex*, *Lincolne*, Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, *Maynard*, Mr. *Hollis*, Sir *Phil: Stapleton*, Sir *William Waller*, Mr. *Long*, Mr. *Nichols*, Sir *William Lewes*, Mr. *Baynton*.

Against Master *Baynton*.

Next, *Corbet* reported, *he had a Witnesse who deposed that a Gentleman with a Red head had signed many Warrants, supposed to be* Master *Edward Baynton*: at length after much wyer-drawing of the businesse, one Warrant was shewn to Master *Baynton*, which he confessed to be his hand. And presently *Haslerigge* moved that Master *Baynton* might forthwith Answer: against which was objected, *That since these were but preparatory Examinations, not legall proofs, no man was bound to answer them; otherwise a man*

shall

shall be put to as many severall answers as severall new matters of Charge come in against him, and shall day by day be liable to new vexations, and never know when he hath cleared himself. But *Corbet* (who of an Examiner was now become the Kings Solicitor, or Advocate Criminall) moved to proceed to judgement against him: but first to aske him some preparatory questions. But it was answered, that it was illegall to squeese examinations out of a mans owne mouth; neither was a man bound to answer, where his words may condemn, but not absolve him: for so much as depends upon the testimony of Witnesses against this Gentleman, you cannot proceed unlesse he be by, and have liberty to put crosse questions to the Witnesses. It is alleaged, Warrants were signed, and all done in relation to a new War. It is answered, it was done in order to Selfe-defence (allowable by the Laws.) Long before this occasion, when the Army first mutinied and threatned to march up to *London*, and use such extraordinary means against the *Parliament and City* as God had put into their hands, you then in a full and free Parliament appointed a Committee of Safety for your defence, who sate & acted. This Committee was but the same revived, and upon the like or worse threats and menaces, as by the many printed Papers from the Army will appear; you have no Testimony against this Gentleman by name, but onely a Character of his Haire: and for signing the Warrant confessed by himself he is acquitted by the *Proviso* of the Ordinance, 20. *August* last, which excepteth only such as acted upon the force; But when the *Committee of Safety* was revived, the Parliament was freer from force then it is now. Mr. *Baynton* notwithstanding, was adjudged to be suspended the House during pleasure of the House, which is as much as to say, *So long as the Tyranny of this domineering Faction lasteth.*

Against Master *Walker.*

The 4. of *Sept. Corbet* reported he had a Witnesse (but named him not, because they were but preparatory examinations) who deposed, that an elderly Gentleman of low stature, in a Gray suit, with a little Stick in his hand, came forth of the House into the Lobby when the Tumult was at the Parliament dore, and whispered some of the Apprentices in the eare, and encouraged them, (supposed to be Mr. *Walker*) Mr. *Walker* denied he spake then with any man in the *Lobby*, or saw any face that he knew there;

there; and ſo neglected the buſineſſe as a thing not conſiderable. But the next day *Corbet* moved that Mr. *Walker* might be ordered to put on his Gray ſuite again, and appeare before the Cloſe-committee, and the Witneſſe, who ſaith *he knoweth him againe if he ſee him.* I heare Mr. *Walker* deſired to know (ſeeing the Witneſſe had not named him) by what authority the Examiners ſhould take ſuch a Depoſition, and make application thereof to him: and ſeeing there were many Gentlemen in the Houſe that day with whom that Character agreed as well as with himſelf, why the Reporter did not move that all to whom that Character was appliable might be put to that teſt as well as himſelf, but ſingled him out for a mark to ſhoot at; complaining, he was not ignorant out of what quiver this arrow came: he had beene threatned with a Revenge by ſome of that Cloſe-committee, and had other enemies amongſt them, that could bite without barking. He told them that yeſterday Mr. *Corbet* reported that the ſuppoſed old man whiſpered, &c. but deſired thoſe that were then in the Houſe to call to mind that the noiſe was then ſo great in the *Lobby* that no whiſper, nay the lowdeſt words he was able to ſpeak could not be heard. Then *Corbet* changed his Tale, ſaying, the words were, *What you doe, doe quickly:* and were ſpoken aloud: and ſaid, the Character agreed beſt with Maſter *Walker*, for that the Deponent ſaid, the Gentleman was a Leane meager man.

Here Mr. *Walker* deſired the Houſe to take notice that the Reporter had twice varied his Report. 1. In the words ſpoken, from a *whiſper* to *loud ſpeaking*. 2. In the Character inlarged with the words, *leane*, and *meager*. Here is hail-ſhot provided, if one miſſe, the other muſt hit. Yet with this addition, there were divers in the Houſe with whom the Character agreed as well as with himſelf. And by the incivility of his words, it ſhould ſeem the Witneſſe is a man of no breeding: wherefore he deſired to heare his *name*, that he might enquire of his credit and repute. If the Reporter thinks he may be practiſed, he doth not think him a man of honeſty: and then he had more cauſe to ſuſpect him. He farther complained, that to make Hue and Cry after him (as it were upon freſh ſuite) upon a character of his perſon and cloths five or ſix weeks after the ſuppoſed fact, (he never having abſen-

ted

ted himſelfe one day from the Houſe) ſavoured too much of a party overſwayed with malice and revenge.

Your *Cloſe-committee of Examinations* carry on buſineſſes ſo in the dark (being parties engaged with the Army, and not ſworn to be true in their office) that no man can ſee how to defend himſelf, or how he is dealt with, or when he is free from trouble and danger: It ſeems we are here called *ex tempore* to anſwer for our lives, *ore tenus*; and our *accuſation* beginneth with the *examination* of our perſons, to make us ſtate a *Charge* againſt our ſelves, to betray our ſelves, and cut our owne throats with our tongues, contrary to *Magna Charta*, the *Petition of Right*, and all thoſe laws of God and man, which in the K I N G's time, were in uſe. And no Witneſſes are produced, nor ſo much as named: methinks therefore we are compelled to play at *blind-man-bough* for our lives, not ſeeing who ſtrikes us. You have the moſt ſummary way of hanging one another that ever I ſaw; It is a kind of *Star-Chamber* proceeding in matter of life and death; your Secret examinations ſavour ſo much of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, and of the *Councell of troubles* erected by the Duke *d' Alva* in the *Low-countries* (called, *Concilium Sanguinis*) that they can never agree with the *Laws & nature of our Nation*: If our Kings ſhall imitate you hereafter, they will be the greateſt Tyrants in the world. Formalities and priviledges of Court, derogating from the common rules of Law, and practice of the Land, are but curtains drawne before oppreſſion and tyranny to dazle mens eyes. Give me leave to tell you that I have ſerved you faithfully from the beginning, and have taken as much pains, and run as many hazards as moſt men in your ſervice, wherein I have loſt my health, and above 7000l. of my Eſtate, without one penny compenſation, as other men have had, nor have I laid my hands upon any mans mony or goods, or had any gainfull employment from you: I contented my ſelf to ſerve my Country *gratis*: and with ſome little honour I had gotten thereby, whereof you have now robbed me, by a roaving Accuſation ſhot at randome at me. Had I cheated the State of 40000l. or 50000l. peradventure I might have been thought a godly, confiding man, of right principles, and have had 10000l. given me for my paines. *Sir*, you have heard the voice of a Free-man (not of a Slave) that dares keep his firſt Principles,

Religion, Lawes, and juſt Liberties, whoſoever laies them aſide; and proteſt againſt Tyranny and Oppreſſion, whereſoever he finds it, whether in the Government of *one* or *many*. You may murder me by the Sword of juſtice, but you cannot hurt me: but deliver me from the evils to come. Nor ſhall I be unwilling to ſuffer a Gaole-delivery of my ſoule from the priſon of my body when I am called to it.

When Mr. *Walker* had done his defence, the debate followed much to this purpoſe, *That to order him to appear in his Gray ſuite before the cloſe Committee and Witneſſe was illegall, and againſt the Lawes and Liberties of the Subject.*

1. *It is to help another to accuſe himſelf; which is all one as if he did accuſe himſelf.*

2. *To bid a Witneſs look upon a man* (after he is engaged to name ſome body) *is to prompt him to go no farther then the party ſhewed.*

3. *A Witneſſe ought not to be twice examined againſt a man*, that is, *to draw him on by degrees to ſwear home, and to mend in his ſecond Depoſition what fell ſhort in his firſt.*

4. *If the Witneſſe firſt depoſe to the matter, not naming the party, and five or ſix weeks after declare the Perſon, without Oath, this is no Depoſition, and if the Oath be renewed, the Witneſſe is twice examined:* So the buſineſſe was laid by, and *Corbet* allowed to ſhew Maſter *Walker* caſually as he could meet with him to his witneſſe, which was (in a manner) to draw dry foot after him with his blood-hound.

I was the more curious in gathering the circumſtances of this buſineſſe out of the reports of many ſeverall men, in regard of the rareneſſe of the caſe, and the exquiſitneſſe of the malice with which it was proſecuted. And it ſeemed to me the more admirable, becauſe I hear generally that Mr. *Walker* hath alwaies been oppoſite to all parties and factions, both *Preſbyterian* and *Independent*, upon whom he looks as the common diſturbers both of Church and Common-wealth, and enemies of peace. Nor could he ever be perſwaded to be at any of their *Junto's* or ſecret meetings; and therefore it is not probable he ſhould ſuddenly and in the open view of the Houſe go forth and engage with a company of ſilly unarmed Apprentice Boyes. But I heare they cannot endure his ſeverity, nor he their knavery. What will not the malice

of

of a deſperate Anabaptiſticall faction attempt? they have long ſported in the bloud and treaſure of the Land, as the *Leviathan* doth in the waters: and doe now keep up a numerous Army to carry on thoſe deſignes by force, which they can no longer make good by fraud. All *England* is become as *Munſter* was, and our *Grandees* ſutable to *John of Leyden*, and *Knipperdoling*.

Againſt Maſter Recorder *Glyn*.

The next report *Corbet* made concerning Mr. Recorder *Glyn*. The chief things objected were, *That he had frequented the Common Councell, the Committees of the Militia, and Safety, more then he was wont to doe: That he was ſilent, and made no oppoſition: And that he gave thanks to the Apprentices when they delivered their Petition to the City, offering their help for defence thereof againſt whomſoever.*

The Recorder anſwered, *The Charge was long, and his memory ſhort: He deſired time to examine his memory, concerning the circumſtances of time, place, perſons, and other matters; and that he might examine Witneſſes for clearing his innocency.* But his Proſecutors (hoping to doe more good upon him by way of ſurpriſe, then in a deliberate and legall way of proceeding) put him upon it to anſwer *ex tempore*. He confeſſed and avoided ſome things, but denied the moſt materiall. He denied he was more frequent at their meetings then ordinary. For his ſilence, he alleadged, he was but the Cities ſervant, and had no voice amongſt them, but when his opinion was demanded: That he gave thanks to the Apprentices as a ſervant by command, yet had mixed ſome admonitions and reprehenſions in his ſpeech to them.

So the Recorder withdrew. And preſently *Haſlerig* (according to his cuſtome) moved judgment might be given againſt him. To which was anſwered, that the Recorder denied the principall parts of his Charge; and offered proofs by Witneſſes: you muſt give him that leave, or take all parts of his ſpeech for granted; as well that makes for him, as againſt him. Two or three daies more will make this buſineſſe ripe for judgment: let him have one Judgment for all. If you judge him now to be expelled the Houſe, he is already forejudged, and that will be a leading caſe to a farther judgment: for, who dares acquit where you have condemned? A man ought to be but once judged upon one accuſation. The diſhonour of expulſion is a puniſhment exceeding death,

death. If you judge now upon one part of the Accuſation, and hereafter upon another part of the Accuſation, he will be twice condemned upon one Accuſation, and ſhall never know when he hath ſatisfied the Law, an endleſſe vexation.

Yet *Haſlerigge* moved he might receive judgment now, for what was already proved or confeſſed, to be expelled the Houſe, (ſaying, *the Lords went on without obſtruction in their buſineſſes, becauſe they had purged their Houſe*) and that he might be farther impeached hereafter upon farther hearing. So he was adjudged to be diſcharged the Houſe, committed to the Tower, and further impeached hereafter.

Againſt S. *John Maynard.*

Sir *John Maynard* the ſame day was called to Anſwer. He deſired a Copy of his Charge, with leave to Anſwer in writing by advice of Councell, as the 11. Members formerly did: To examine Witneſſes on his part, and croſſe examine their Witneſſes. But theſe requeſts were denied, and he commanded to anſwer *ex tempore*. He gave no particular Anſwer, but denied all in generall: as Col. *Pride* (whom he cited for his Preſident) had formerly done at their Bar. He was adjudged to be diſcharged the Houſe, committed to the Tower, and farther impeached.

The like for Commiſſary Generall *Copley*, whoſe caſe differed little.

Againſt the 7 Lords.

The 8 of *Sept.* the Earles of *Suffolke*, *Lincolne*, *Middleſex*, the Lords *Barkley*, *Willoughby*, *Hunſdon*, and *Maynard* were impeached of High Treaſon, in the name of the Commons of *England*, *for leavying War againſt the King, Parliament, and Kingdome*. The Earle of *Pembroke* (then ſent to *Hampton-Court* with the *Propoſitions* on purpoſe to avoid the ſtorm) was omitted until Wedneſday following, and ſo had the favour to be thought not worth remembring.

Sir *John Evelin* the younger ſent up to the Lords with the *Impeachment*, and a deſire they might be *committed*. They were committed to the *Black Rodde*. And ſo the engaged Lords had their Houſe to themſelves according to their deſires.

50. Schiſmaticall Petitions.

The 14. *Septemb.* a Petition from divers Schiſmaticks in *Eſſex* came to the Houſes, bearing this Title, *To the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled, diſtinct from the Lords and Commons that ſate in abſence of the two Speakers.*

16 *Sept.*

16. *Sept.* a Petition from divers *Sectaries* of *Oxfordſh: Bucks: Berkeſh.* was delivered to the Houſe againſt divers *Members* ſitting in the Houſe, *enemies to God and Godlineſſe, enemies to the Kingdome, &c. Uſurpers of Parliamentary Authority, who endeavoured to bring in the King upon His owne Tearmes.* They deſired *a free Parliament, and that* (according to the deſires of the Army) *thoſe that ſate when the Parliament was ſuſpended in abſence of Tythes, &c.* in it. Such another Petition came but the day before from *Southwarke.*

Theſe Petitions were all penned by the engaged party of the Houſes and Army, and ſent abroad by Agitators to get ſubſcriptions. The deſigne was to put the two parties in the Houſe into *heights one againſt another*, to make the *leſſer party* in the Houſe (*viz.* the ingaged party but 59) to *expell the greater party* being above 140. whereby the Houſe might be low and baſe in the opinion of the people, and no Parliament, and ſo leave all to the power of the Sword. The Army daily recruiting, and thereby giving hopes to all looſe people, that the Army ſhould be their common Receptacle, as the Sea is the common Receptacle of all waters, becauſe thoſe who had no hope to be Members of Parliament might become Members of this Army. Beſides their plauſible way of prompting the people to Petition *againſt Tythes, Encloſures, and Copy-hold fines uncertaine*, was to encourage them to ſide with the Army againſt all the *Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy of the land*, (from whom the Army did moſt fear an oppoſition) and to deſtroy *Monarchy* it ſelfe: ſince it is impoſſible for any Prince, to be a King only of Beggers, Tinkers, and Coblers.

The ayme of theſe Petitions.

But theſe interloping diſcourſes omittted, let us again return to theſe prodigious *Impeachments*. The next in order comes in *the Lord Major, Aldermen*, and *Citizens*, with whom ſhort work was made. Impeachments were ſent up *to the Lords* againſt them, and they ſent to the *Tower*, upon a bare *report* of the Inquiſitor Generall *Corbet*, and the reading of ſome depoſitions, the *Witneſſes names* for the moſt part *concealed*, and none of them ſo much as called to the *Cõmons Bar* to ſee what they could ſay for themſelves: Contrary to *Magna Charta*, 29. *chap.* and contrary to 28 *Edw.* 3. enacting, *that no man ſhall be put out of his Land, &c. nor taken, nor Impriſoned, &c. nor put to death, &c. without being brought*

Againſt the Lord Major, Aldermen and Citizens.

brought to anſwer by due proceſſe of Law. That is according to the *Stat. 42 Edw. 3. ch. 3. That no man be brought to anſwer without preſentment before Juſtices, or matter of Record, or by due proceſſe, or writ originall, according to the old Law of the Land:* not according to new invented Articles of impeachment, but according to thoſe Laws that were well known, and old in *Edw. 3.* time: ſee *Stat. 37 Edw. 3. 1 Edw. 6. ch. 12. 6 Edw. 6. ch. 11.* and the *Stat. 25 Ed. 3.* ſaith, *no man ſhall be taken by Petition or ſuggeſtion made to the King, or His Councell, &c.* and the Houſe of Peers is no more but the Kings Councell, as anon I ſhall make evident.

51. Arguments againſt impeachments before the Lords.

It was moved by divers that theſe Gent: might be Tried according to Law at the *Kings Bench* by a Jury of twelve men *de vicineto*, their Peers and equals to judge of matter of fact: alleadging that the Common Law was the *Birthright of all the free people of England*: which was one of the *three Principles* for which the Parl: ſo often declared in print that they fought, and for defence whereof they had entred into a *Covenant, with their hands lifted up to God:* the other *two principles* were *Religion* and *Liberties.*

1. *The Lords were not Peers to the Commoners: At the Common Law they ſhall have ſworne Judges for matter of Law, of whom they may aske queſtions in doubtfull points, nor can they be Judges in their owne caſes.*

2. *They have ſworn Jurors of the neighbourhood for matter of fact, whom they may challenge.*

2. *The knowne Laws and Statutes for rules to judge by, which in caſe of Treaſon is the* Stat. 25 Edw. 3. *you cannot Vote nor declare a new Treaſon:* And if you could, *to doe it* ex poſt facto, *is contrary to all rules of juſtice:* The Apoſtle ſaith, *Sin is a breach of a Commandement* (or Law:) *I had not known ſin but by the Law:* the Law therefore muſt go before the Sin.

4. At the Common Law, *They have Witneſſes openly and newly examined upon oath before the Accuſed's face, who may except againſt them and croſſe examine them.*

5. *Even in Star Chamber and Chancery* (where only hearings are upon Teſtimonies) *the Examiners are ſworne Officers.*

6. *A man hath but one Triall and Judgement, upon one accuſation:* ſo that he knows when he hath ſatisfied the Law.

In this way of proceeding, all theſe neceſſary legalities are laid by:

by: and these Gentlemen have not so much fair play for their Lives and Estates as *Naboth* had for his Vineyard: he had all the *formalities* of the law: yea, he had *law it selfe*: yet he had *not justice*: because they were the sons of *Belial* that were set before him: what shall we conceive these Witnesses are that doe not appear? nay, whose very names are concealed? yet *Naboth* was murdered by the sword of Justice: for the honour of Parliaments give not the people cause to suspect, these Gentlemen shall be so too: *non recurrendum ad extraordinaria, quando fieri potest per ordinaria.*

52. Arguments proving the Lords to have no power of Iudicature over the Commons.

But all this was but to charme a deafe Adder: the nine or ten *engaged Lords* that then possessed the House, were thought to be fitter then a *Jury of Middlesex* to make worke for the hang-man, and yet they have *no Judicature over the Commons*: as appears by the president of Sir *Simon de Berisford, William Taylboys*, and the City of *Cambridge*. Note that one president against the Jurisdiction of a Court is more valued then a hundred for it: because the Court cannot be supposed ignorant of the Law, and its owne rights; but a particular man or client may: see Sir *John Maynard's Royall quarrell and his Laws subversion*: Lieutenant Col: *Lilburne's whip for the present House of Lords*: and Judge *Jenkins Remonstrance to the Lords and Commons of the two Houses of Parliament*, dated 21. *Feb.* 1647. As for the cases of *Weston, Gomenes* and *Hall*, (cited by Mr. *Pryn*) they were for facts done beyond Sea, and before the *Stat.* 1 *Hen.* 4. *ch.* 14. whereof the Common Law could then have no conusance: and therefore an extraordinary way of proceeding before the Lords was requisite, and by the Kings speciall Authority it was done, without which, (I dare boldly affirme) the Lords have no Judicature at all: which thus I make appear.

53. The House of Peers no Court of Iudicature at all properly and *per se*.

1. The King by delivering the Great Seal to the *Lord Keeper*, makes him *Keeper of his conscience* for matter of equity. By His *Brevia patentia* to the *Judges of the two Benches and the Exchequer*, the King makes them *administrators and interpreters of His Laws*: But he never trusts any but himself with the power of pardoning and dispensing with the rigour of the Law, in Criminall cases: And though the Lord Keeper is Speaker of the Lords House of course, yet he is no Member of the Lords House *virtute Officii*: the Judges

ges are not Members, but aſſiſtants onely: So that no man in the Houſe of Peers, as he is ſimply a Peere, is truſted by the King either with diſpenſation of Law, or equity.

2. When a Peere of Parliament, or any man elſe is tryed before the Lords in Parliament criminally, he cannot be tried by his Peers onely, becauſe in acts of Judicature there muſt be a Judge ſuperior, who muſt have his Inferiors miniſteriall to him: Therefore in the triall of the Earl of *Strafford*, (as in all other Trialls upon life and death, in the Lords Houſe) the King grants His Commiſſion to a *Lord High Steward* to ſit as Judge, and the reſt of the Lords are but in the nature of Jurors. So that it is the *Kings Commiſſion* that authorizeth and diſtinguiſheth them.

3. When a *Writ of Error* iſſueth out of the Chancery to the Houſe of Peers, they derive their Authority, meerly from that Writ.

For the three Reaſons aforeſaid, the *Houſe of Peers* is no Court of Judicature at all without the *Kings ſpeciall Authority* granted to them either by His *Writ*, or His *Commiſsion*. And the Lords by their *foure Votes* having denied all further addreſſe or application to the King, have cut off from themſelves that fountaine from which they derive all their power: And all Trialls by Commiſſion muſt be upon Bils or acts of Attainder, not by *Articles of Impeachment*; a way never heard of before this Parliament, and invented to carry on the deſignes of a reſtleſſe impetuous Faction: Had the Faction had but ſo much wit as to try thoſe Gentlemen by Commiſſion of *Oyer and Terminer*, before Sergeant *Wild*, he would have borrowed a point of Law to hang a hundred of them for his own preferment.

Obſerve that almoſt all the caſes cited by M. *Pryn* concerning the Peers Trialls of Commſſioners were authorized by the King upon the ſpeciall inſtance of the houſe of Commons; As for the Houſe of Commons they never pretended to any power of Judicature, and have not ſo much authority as to adminiſter an oath, which every Court of Pye-Poulders hath.

54. Blanke impeachments dormant.

But this way of triall before the pre-ingaged Lords, and upon *Articles of Impeachment* (which they keep by them of all ſorts and ſizes fit for every man, as in *Birchin-lane* they have ſuites ready made to fit every body) was the apter meanes to bring men

men to death, whom they feared living: had not a doubt of the Scots comming in taught them more moderation, then their nature is uſually aquainted with; and to fright away, (at leaſt) put to ſilence the reſt of the *Members* with fear of having their names put into *blank Impeachments*. And that it might be ſo apprehended; *Miles Corbet* moved openly in the Houſe of Commons that they ſhould proceed with the Impeachments which were ready, nothing wanted but to fill up the Blankes, they might put in what names they pleaſed. This *Inquiſiter generall*, this prologue to the Hang-man, that lookes more like a hang-man then the Hang-man himſelf, hath ſince gotten the rich office of *Regiſter of the Chancery*, as a reward for his double diligence: Oh, Sergeant *Wilde* and M. *Steele* diſpair not of a reward.

Friday, 17. *Sept.* the adviſe of Sir *Tho. Fairfax* and his Councell of War was read in the Houſe of Commons, *What ſtanding Forces* they thought fit to be kept up in *England* and *Wales*, and *what Garriſons*. Alſo *what Forces to ſend for Ireland*; namely, for *Ireland*, 6000 Foot, and 2400 Horſe, out of the ſupernumerary looſe forces, being no part of the Army; and for *England*, upon eſtabliſhed pay, 18000. Foot at 8d. *per diem*. 7200 Horſe at 2s. *per diem* each Trouper; 1000 Dragoones, and 200 Firelocks. Train of Artillery, Armes and Ammunition, to be ſupplyed. The Foot to be kept in Garriſons, yet ſo that 6000 may be readily drawn into the field. 55. Eſtabliſhment for the Army.

The Independent party argued, That the Army were unwilling to goe for *Ireland*, pretending their engagement to the contrary; if you divide or disband any part of your Army, they will ſuſpect you have taken up your old reſolutions againſt them, to disband the whole Army: It is now no time to diſcontent them, when the Kings Anſwer to your Propoſitions tends to divide you and your Army, and the people are generally diſaffected to you.

The Presbyterian party argued, That the engagement of the Army ought to be no rule to the Councels of the Parliament; otherwiſe new Engagements every day may preſcribe the Parliament new Rules: we muſt look two wayes. 1. Upon the people unable to beare the burden. 2. Upon the Army. Let us keep ſome power in our own Hands, and not deſcend ſo far below

the dignity of a Parliament, as to put all into the hands of the Generall and his Councell of War. You have almoſt given away all already. The Army adviſeth you to keep up your Garriſons, then upon mature deliberation this Houſe formerly Voted: you have alreany made Garriſons manned with gallant and faithfull men, to whom you owe Arrears; to remove them, and place new Souldiers in their roomes, will neither pleaſe them, nor the places where they are quartered: who being acquainted with their olds gueſts, will not willingly receive new in their roomes. Theſe men have done you as good and faithfull ſervice as any in the Army; and were ready to obey you, and goe for *Ireland*, had they not been hindred by thoſe, who under pretence of an engagement to the contrary (which they mutinouſly entred into) will neither obey you, nor goe for *Ireland*, nor ſuffer others to goe. Though you diſcharge theſe men without paying their Arrears, (which others of other principles will not endure) yet give them good words: If you will be ſerved by none, but ſuch as are of your new principles; yet conſider your Army are not all alike principled, and peradventure the old principles may be as good as the new for publick, though not ſo fit for private deſignes and purpoſes. You have paſſed an Ordinance, *That none that have borne Armes againſt the Parliament ſhall be imployed:* if you disband all ſuch, your Army will be very thin; many have entred into pay there in order to doe the King ſervice, and bring the Parliament low. There is no reaſon you ſhould keep up 1400 Horſe more then you laſt voted to keep up, being but 5800. at which time 60000 l. a Moneth was thought an eſtabliſhment ſufficient both for *England* and *Ireland*. But now the whole charge of *England* and *Ireland* will amount to 114000 l. a month: which muſt be raiſed upon the people, either directly and openly by way of ſeſſement; or indirectly and cloſely, partly by ſeſſements, and partly by free-quarter and other devices: nor will the pay of 2s. *per diem* to each Trouper, and 8 d. to each Foot Souldier enable them to pay their quarters. If you mean to govern by the Sword, your Army is too little: if by the Lawes and juſtice of the Land, and love of the people, your Army is too great: you can never pay them: which will occaſion mutinies in the Army, and ruine to the countrey. Thus diſputed the *Presbyterians*, but to no purpoſe, it was carried againſt them.

Obſerve

Obſerve that when the War was at the higheſt, the *monthly tax* came but to 54000 l. yet had we then the Earl of *Eſſex's* Army, Sir *William Waller's*, My Lord *of Denbighs*, Maj. Gen. *Poyn't's*, Maj. Gen. *Maſſey's*, Maj. Gen. *Laughorne's*, *Sir William Brereton's*, Sir *The. Middleton's* Brigades, and other Forces in the field, beſides Garriſons.

But now this Army hath 60000l. a month, and 20000l. a month more *pretended for Ireland*; which running all through the fingers of the *Committee of the Army*. 56. Monthly Taxes.

That Kingdome (which is purpoſely kept in a *ſtarving condition* to break *the Lord Inchequin's Army*, that *Ireland* may be a *receptacle for the Saints* againſt *England* ſpews them forth) hath nothing but the envy of it, the ſole benefit going to this Army: This 20000l. a month being a ſecret unknown to the common Souldiers; The *Grandees of the Army* put it in their own purſes. 57. *Ireland* why kept in a ſtarving condition.

Moreover, this Army hath ſtill a kind of free-quarter, (under colour of lodging, fire and candle) for who ſees not that theſe maſterleſſe gueſts upon that intereſt continued in our houſes, do and will become Maſters of all the reſt? and who dares ask mony for quarter of them, or accept it when it is colourably offered, without fear of farther harm? beſides, the Army, (whoſe requeſts are now become Commands) demanded that they might have the levying of this Tax: and that their accounts might be audited at the Head-quarters: And though the Officers of this Army (to catch the peoples affections) encouraged them often to Petition the Houſes againſt Free-quarter, pretending they would forbear it, after an eſtabliſhment ſettled upon them; the uſe their party in the Houſe made of theſe Petitions was to move for an Addition of 20000l. or 30000l. a month) and then they ſhould pay their quarters, lodging, fire and candle, nay ſtable-room too excepted.

Here it is not amiſſe to inſert a word or two of this villanous oppreſſion, *Free-quarter*; whereby we are reduced to the condition of conquered Slaves, no man being Maſter of his owne Family, but living like *Bond-ſlaves* in their own Houſes, under theſe *Ægyptian task-Maſters*, who are ſpies and intelligencers upon our words and deeds, ſo that every mans table is become a ſnare to him. In the third yeare of King CHARLES, the Lords 58. Free-quarter.

and

and Commons in their *Petition of Right* (when not above 2000 or 3000 Souldiers were thinly quartered upon the people but for a month or two) complained thereof to His Majesty as a great Grievance contrary to the Lawes and Customs of the Realme, and humbly prayed as their Right and Liberty, according to the Laws and Statutes of this Kingdome that he would remove them, and that his people might not be so burdened in time to come, which His Majesty graciously granted. Yet now we are ten thousand times more oppressed with them, and if these quarterers offer violence or villainous usage to any man in his house or family, or commit murder or felony, they are protected against the Laws and justice of the Land, and *Triable onely by a Councell of War* at the Head-quarters, where a man can neither obtain justice nor seek it with safety. So that we live under the burthen of a perpetuall Army of 30000 or 40000 men, exempt from all but *Martiall Law*, which frequently oppresseth, seldome righteth any man: witnesse *Oliver Cromwell's* taking of *Thomson* (being no Souldier) from the House of Commons doore with Souldiers, imprisoning and condemning him at a Councel of War, where he sate Judge in his owne cause, there being a quarrell between them; Yet it was held Treason in the Earl of *Strafford* to condemn the Lord of *Valentia* so, being a member of his Army, because it was in time of peace, as this was. Many other examples we have of the like nature, and of this Army, enough to perswade us that these *vindicative Saints* will not governe by the known *Laws of the Land*, (for which they have made us spend our money and blood) but by *Martiall Law* and *Committee Law*, grounded upon Arbitratry Ordinances of Parliament, which themselves in the first part of *exact Collections*, pag. 727. confesse, are not Laws without the Royall assent.

59. Martiall Law.

This Army hath been daily recruited without any Authority, farre beyond the said number or pay established; the supernumeraries living upon free quarter. And when complaints have been made thereof in the House, the Army being quartered in severall Brigades, *supernumeraries* have been *disbanded in one Brigade*, and their Armes *taken by their Officers*: and shortly after they have been *listed againe in another Brigade*, and their Armes *sold againe to the State*, after a while to new Arme them. And of this sort were

60. Cheats put upon the State.

were those Armes which being found in a Magazine in Town by some Zelots, and rumoured to belong to the City for the arming of Reformado's, were upon examination found to belong to *Oliver Cromwell:* so the businesse was buried in silence: for though the Kings oversights must be tragically published to the world, yet the heinous crimes of the Godly must lie hid under the mask of Religion.

61. Arreares secured, although the State owes them nothing.

And though they have usually taken *free-quarter* in one place, and taken *composition money* for *free-quarter* in another place, some of them in two or three places at once 3*s.* a day, some of them 5*s.* for a Trouper, and 1*s.* a day, and 1*s.* 6*d.* for a Foot Souldier, whereby no Arrears are due to them, but they owe mony to the State; yet they have compelled the Houses to settle upon them for pretended Arrears:

1. The moity of the Excise (that they may have the Souldiers help in leavying it; although to flatter the people, the Army had formerly declared against the Excise.)
2. The moity of *Goldsmiths-hall.*
3. Remainder of Bishops Lands.
4. The Customes of some Garrisons.
5. Forrest Lands.

This Army brags *they are the Saviours* (nay Conquerours) *of the Kingdom.* Let them say when they saved it, whether at the Fight at *Nazeby*, or taking in of *Oxford:* and we will pay them according to the then List. And for all the Recruites taken in since the reducing of *Oxford*, it is fit they be disbanded without pay, having been taken in without; nay, against Authority, to drive on wicked designes, and enthrall King, Parliament, City, and Kingdome.

62. Foure dethreaning Bils presented to the King at *Carisbrook-Castle.*

24. *Decemb.* 1647. The two Houses by their Commissioners presented to the King (at *Carisbrook-Castle*) 4 Bils to be passed as Acts of Parliament, and divers Propositions to be assented to. They are all printed, so is His Majesties Answer to them, wherefore I shall need to say the lesse of them, only a word or two to two of the Bills:

63. Acts for the Militia.

1. The Act for *raising, setling, and maintaining Forces by Sea and Land, within the Kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland, Wales, *&c.* (though it seems to be but for 20 years) devests the

King, his Heirs, and Successours, of the power of the *Militia* for ever, without hope of recovery but by repealing the said Act, which will never be in His nor in their power: for,

First, it saith, *That neither the King, nor His Heirs, or Successors, nor any other, shall exercise any power over the* Militia *by Land or Sea, but such as shall act by Authority and approbation of the said Lords and Commons:* That is, *a Committee of State* of twenty or thirty *Grandees*, to whom the two Houses shall transfer this trust, being over-awed by the Army, (for the ground-work of this Committee was laid by these words, though the Committee be erected since.)

And Secondly, it prohibiteth the King, His Heires and Successours, &c. after the expiration of the said 20 years to exercise any of the said powers without the consent of the said Lords and Commons, and in all cases wherein the said Lords and Commons shall declare the Safety of the Kingdome to be concerned after the said 20 years expired, and shall passe any Bils for Raising, Arming &c. Forces by Land or Sea, or concerning Leavying of Mony, &c. if the Royall Assent to such Bils shall not be given by such a time, &c. then such Bils so passed by the Lords and Commons shall have the force of Acts of Parliament without the Royall Assent. Lo, here a foundation laid to make an *Ordinance of both Houses* equall to an *Act of Parliament*, and take away the KING's *Negative voice:* if this be granted in one case, it will be taken in another, and then these Subverters of our Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, will turne their *usurpation* into a *legall Tyranny*.

2. It gives an unlimited Power to the two Houses to raise what Forces, and what numbers for Land and Sea, and of what persons (without exceptions) they please, and to imploy them as they shall judge fit.

3. To raise what Money they please for maintaining them, and in what sort they think fit out of any mans Estate. This is a Tax far more Arbitrary and Unlimited then Ship-money, and the more terrible because it depends upon the will and pleasure of a multitude; who to support their own Tyranny, and satisfie their own hunger after other mens goods, may, and doe create a *necessity*, and then make that *necessity* the *law* and *rule* of their *actions*

ons and our *ſufferings*: beſides, they are but our fellow Subjects that uſurp this Dominion over us, which aggravates the indignity. If the 24 *Conſervators* of the *peace* in *Hen.* 3. time, were thought a burden to the Commons, and called, *totidem tyranni*; what will our *Grandees* prove when the *power* of the *Sword* is theirs by *Act of Parliament*? Beſides, if the KING give them His Sword, they may take all the reſt of the Propoſitions demanded without a Treaty.

64. Bill for adjournment of the Parliament as well for place, as time.

The *Bill for adjournment of both Houſes to any other place, &c.* will enable the engaged Party of the two Houſes and Army to adjourn the two Houſes from time to time, to, or near the Head-quarters of the Army: where thoſe Members that refuſe to enter into the ſame Engagement, ſhall neither ſit with accommodation nor ſafety, and ſo be ſhaken off at laſt: this is a new way of *purging the Houſes*. Beſides, the Parliament following the motions of the Army, the King ſhall follow the Parliament, whereby the Army having both King and Parliament preſent with them, whatſoever attempt ſhall be made againſt the Army ſhall be ſaid to be againſt the ſafety and authority of the King and Parliament, and a legall Treaſon, triable by Indictment, not a conſtructive Treaſon only triable before the Lords.

Note this Meſſage to the KING, *plus ſignificat quam loquitur*, though it holdeth forth but Four Demands to open view, yet it includes Five; for, if the King paſſe theſe Four Bils, as Acts of Parliament, either He muſt do it by His Perſonall preſence in the Houſe of Peers, or by His Commiſſion under the Great Seale; and ſo conſequently muſt confirme the Parliaments Great Seale, and all things done by it, (to the nullifying His own Great Seale at *Oxford.*) His Perſonall preſence they will not admit; for, though they pretended heretofore they tooke up Armes *to bring the King to his Parliament*, yet now they continue in Armes *to keep Him from His Parliament*, leſt the preſence of the true Sun ſhould obſcure ſuch Meteors, and *Ignis fatui*, as they are. Though this may be Godly and Saint-like dealing, yet is it not plaine nor fair dealing, *latet anguis in herba*, there is *Coloquintida*, nay death in the pot.

65. The Kings Anſwer debated.

Monday 3. *Jan.* the *Kings Anſwer* to the ſaid *Bils* and *Propoſitions* was debated in the Houſe of Commons. And firſt, Sir *Thomas Wrothe* (*Jack Pudding* to *Prideaux* the Poſt-maſter) had his

cue to go high, and feel the pulſe of the Houſe; who ſpake to this purpoſe, That *Bedlem was appointed for mad men, and* Tophet *for Kings: That our Kings of late had carried themſelves as if they were fit for no place but* Bedlem: That his humble motion ſhould conſiſt of three parts:

1. *To ſecure the King, and keep Him cloſe in ſome inland Caſtle with ſure Guards.*

2. *To draw up Articles of Impeachment againſt Him.*

3. *To lay Him by, and ſettle the Kingdome without Him: he cared not what form of Government they ſet up, ſo it were not by Kings and Devils.*

Ireton's Speech. Then Commiſſary *Ireton* (ſeeming to ſpeake the ſenſe of the Army, under the notion of many thouſand Godly men who had ventured their lives to ſubdue their enemies) ſaid after this manner, *The King had denied ſafety and protection to His people by denying the foure Bills: That ſubjection to Him was but in lieu of His protection to His people; this being denied, they might well deny any more ſubjection to Him, and ſettle the Kingdome without Him: That it was now expected, after ſo long patience, they ſhould ſhew their Reſolution, and not deſert thoſe Valiant men who had engaged for them beyond all poſſibility of retreat, and would never forſake the Parliament, unleſſe the Parliament forſook them firſt.*

After ſome more debate when the Houſe was ready for the queſtion, *Cromwell* brought up the Rear: And giving an ample character of the valour, good affections, and godlineſſe of the Army, argued: *That it was now expected the Parliament ſhould governe and defend the Kingdome by their owne power and Reſolutions, and not teach the people any longer to expect ſafety and government from an obſtinate man, whoſe heart God had hardned: That thoſe men who had defended the Parliament from ſo many dangers with the expence of their blond, would defend them herein with fidelity and courage againſt all oppoſition. Teach them not by neglecting your owne and the Kingdomes ſafety (in which their owne is involved) to think themſelves betrayed, and left hereafter to the rage and malice of an irreconcileable Enemy whom they have ſubdued for your ſake; and therefore are likely to find His future Government of them inſupportable, and fuller of revenge then juſtice, leſt diſpaire teach them to ſeek their ſafety by ſome other means then adhering to*

Cromwell's Speech.

you,

you, who will not ſtick to your ſelves. And how deſtructive ſuch a Reſolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to thinke, and leave you to judge.

Obſerve, he laid his hand upon his Sword at the latter end of his Speech; that Sword which being by his ſide could not keep him from trembliug when Sir *Philip Stapleton* baffled him in the Houſe of Commons.

This concluding Speech having ſomething of menace in it, was thought very prevalent with the Houſe.

66. The 4 Bils for no Addreſſes nor Applications, paſſed.

The firſt of the four Queſtions being put, That *the two Houſes ſhould make no more Addreſſes nor Applications to the* KING: The Houſe of Commons was divided, 141. *yeas*, 91. *noes*, ſo it was carried in the Affirmative.

The other three Votes followed theſe Votes with facility: ſee them in print. Upon the laſt of theſe 4 Votes the Houſe was divided, and Candles were Voted to be brought in only to tell the Houſe: yet (contrary to their ſaid Order) when the Candles were in, they proceeded farther, as followeth:

67. The Committee of Safety revived and enlarged.

The Members had been locked into the Houſe of Commons from before nine of the clock in the morning to ſeven at night, and then the dores were unlocked, and what Members would, ſuffered to go forth, whereby many *Preſbyterians* thinking the Houſe had been upon riſing, departed; when preſently (the Houſe being grown thin) the Vote to revive the *Committee* of both Kingdoms called *the Committee of Safety at* Derby-houſe, paſſed by Ordinance dated 3 *Jan.* 1647. in theſe words: *Reſolved, &c. That the powers formerly granted by both Houſes to the Committee of both Kingdoms,* (viz. England and Scotland) *in relation to the two Kingdomes of* England *and* Ireland, *be now granted and veſted in the Members of both Houſes onely that are of that Committee, with power to them alone, to put the ſame in execution.* The originall Ordinance that firſt erected this Committee, and to which this ſaid Ordinance relates, beareth date 7. *February*, 1643. in which the Engliſh Committees were appointed from time to time, to propound to the Scotiſh Commiſſioners whatſoever they ſhould receive in charge from both Houſes, and to make report to both Houſes, to direct the managing of the Warre, and to keep good correſpondency with forain States, and to receive directions

from time to time from both Houſes; and to continue for three Months and no longer. But this Ordinance, 3. *January*, 1647. veſts the ſaid powers in the Members thereof onely, and alone: words excluding the two Houſes; and for a time indefinite.

* There were then added to this Committee, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, in place of Sir *Philip Stapleton*; Sir *John Evelin junior*, in place of Mr. Recorder; and the Earle of *Kent*, in ſtead of the Earle of *Eſſex*. 22. *Jan.* following, the Lords ſent down a Meſſage for a farther power to this Committee; which was granted, in theſe words, *Power to ſuppreſſe Tumults and Inſurrections in* England, &c. *and at* Barwicke; *and for that purpoſe the Committee to have power to give Orders and Directions to all the Militia and Forces of the Kingdome.* The addition of four Lords and eight Commoners likewiſe to this Committee was deſired, but denied.

* The Members of this Committee are now, the Earl of *Northumberland*, *Ro.* Earl of *Warwick*, the E. of *Kent*, *Edw.* E. of *Manchester*, *Will:* Lord *Say* and *Seal*, *Phil:* L. *Wharton*, *John* L. *Roberts*, *William Pierrepont*, Sir *Henry Vane* ſen. Sir *Gilberd Gerrard*, Sir *William Armine*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge*, Sir *Henry Vane* junior, *John Crew*, *Robert Wallope*, *Oliver* St. *Johns* Sol. *Oliver Cromwell*, *Sam. Browne*, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Sir *John Evelin* jun.

68. *White hall* and the *Mewes* Garriſoned.

Friday 14. *January*, after a long debate, it was ordered that Sir *Lewis Dives*, Sir *John Stowell*, and *David Jenkins*, be tried as Traytors at the Kings Bench: the Grand Jury had found the Bill againſt *Jenkins*. Maſter Solicitor, &c. appointed to manage the buſineſſe, * but *Jenkins* is ſo great a Lawyer, that the Solicitor durſt not venture upon him, the long Sword being more powerfull in his mouth then the Law; wherefore the Solicitor found an Errour in the Indictment, turned him back againe upon the Houſe to be impeached before the Lords, to whoſe juriſdiction he pleaded: ſo the Solicitor put the affront from himſelf upon the Houſes. It was now twelve of the clock, and many of the Independent party began to cry, *Riſe, riſe*; The Presbyterians thinking all had been done; many went to dinner, yet the Independents ſate ſtill, and finding the Houſe for their turn, moved, *That a Letter might be forthwith ſent to Sir* Thomas Fairfax, *to ſend a convenient number of Foot to Garriſon* White-Hall, *and a party of Horſe to quarter in the Mewes.* The Lords concurrence was not deſired to this Vote, but the Letters immediately drawn and ſent.

* See Iudge *Jenkins's* Remonſtrance to the Lords and Commons of Parliament, 21 *Feb.* 1647.

Obſerve, that before this Vote paſſed, divers Forces were upon

upon their March towards the Town, and came to *White-hall* Saturday following by eight of the Clock in the morning.

Saturday, 15. *Jan.* the Army ſent a Declaration to the Houſe of Commons, *Thanking them for their 4 Votes againſt the* KING, promiſing them *to live and die with the Commons, in defence of them againſt all Opponents.*

69. The Armies Declaration thanking the Commons for their 4 Votes.

Many of the Lords had argued very hotly againſt the ſaid 4 Votes, inſomuch that it was ten Lords to ten; but this engagement of the Army, and the unexpected garriſoning of *White-hall* and the *Mewes*, turned the ſcales: ſo that they paſſed the ſaid 4 Votes, onely adding a ſhort preamble (little to the purpoſe) holding forth ſome reaſons for paſſing them, to which the Commons, when they came down, aſſented. When preſently (about twelve of the Clock the Houſe being thin) *Dennis Bond* moved, *That whoſoever ſhould act againſt thoſe 4 Votes, or incite others to act againſt them, ſhould be impriſoned and ſequeſtred.*

70. The Lords paſſe the 4 Votes.

Three or four daies after the Lords had paſſed the ſaid 4 Votes, the Army vouchſafed to ſpit thanks in their mouths, and make much of them. Theſe 4 Votes were generally ſiniſterly taken, and filled mens minds with ſuſpition, what form of Government the Grandees would ſet up, now they had laid by the King; and every mans mind preſaged a new War, which they conceived the Independent Grandees were willing to have, to colour their keeping up this Army, and raiſing Money to maintain them; and every man began to lay the project of a new War at their dore: notwithſtanding, (by way of prevention) they had Impeached divers Members, and Citizens of *London*, for endeavouring a new War when they did but raiſe men for their ſelf-defence.

71. The Army thanks the Lords.

To ſhew the people therefore, the reaſons of theſe 4 Votes, the Independent Grandees appointed a Committee to ſearch into the Kings converſation and errours of his Government, and publiſh them in a Declaration to the world: wherein, they objected many high crimes againſt Him, concerning His Fathers Death, the loſſe of *Rochel*, and the Maſſacre and Rebellion in *Ireland*: which upon debate in the Houſe, were very much moderated by the Presbyterians; of which Declaration I will only ſay, That they have ſet forth no new matter therein, which they have not formerly publiſhed in parcels, ſince which time they have

72. The Declaration againſt the King.

have taken & cauſed others to take the National Covenant, wherby *they vow to maintain the Kings Perſon, Crowne and Dignity, in defence of Religion, Laws, and Liberties:* and therefore to reprint onely the ſame things as Arguments to lay by the King, ſavours more of deſigne, then juſtice.

I will wade no farther in the cenſure of the ſaid Declaration, leſt I imitate the Authors of it: and as they by a feeble accuſation have done the King much right, ſo I by a weake defence ſhould do Him much wrong.

73. *Tho: Haſlerig's* Letter concerning the King.

The people were as ill ſatisfied with this Declaration, as with the 4 Votes; wherefore (24 *Febr.*) Mr. Speaker, with much ſerioufneſſe, preſented to the Houſe a Letter out of *Leiceſter-ſhire* from *Thomas Haſlerigge*, (Brother to Sir *Arthur*) which was read, to this purpoſe, *That there was one Maſter* Smalling, *a Committee-man of* Leiceſter-ſhire, *who had been a Deputy-examiner in the* Star-chamber, *and affirmed, that above twenty years ſince there being a Suite in* Star-chamber *between the Earle of* Briſtol *Complainant, and the Duke of* Buckingham *Defendant, concerning Phyſicke preſumptuouſly adminiſtred by the ſaid Duke to K.* James; *the ſaid* Smalling *took many Depoſitions therein, and was farther proceeding in the Examinations, untill a Warrant, ſigned by the King, was brought him, commanding him to ſurceaſe, and to ſend Him the Depoſitions already taken; which* Smalling *did: yet kept Notes by him of the principall Paſſages, doubting what farther proceedings might be hereafter in a buſineſſe of ſuch importance.* Sir *Henry Mildmay* moved that *Smalling* be ſent for and examined upon Oath by the Committee that penned the ſaid Declaration: but upon motion of the Presbyterians, he was ordered to be examined at the Commons Bar. *Smalling* came, produced the Warrant, but no Notes, ſo this *Chimæra* vaniſhed.

What the ſaid Committee would have made of this, who knows? God bleſſe us all from clandeſtine examinations, eſpecially when they are taken by parties pre-ingaged.

3 *Caroli*, this buſineſſe had been ventilated and examined againſt the Duke, and no mention made of poyſoning or killing King *James*; it was then onely called, *an Act of high preſumption and dangerous conſequence in the Duke:* nor was there then the leaſt reflection upon King *Charles*; yet now becauſe K. *Charles* diſſolved

diſſolved that Parliament, the Independent party were willing to raiſe a ſuſpition againſt Him concerning His Fathers death: whereas the Accuſation againſt the Duke of *Buckingham*, 3 *Caroli* contained ſeven or eight Charges againſt him, the leaſt whereof might occaſion the diſſolving of that Parliament.

74. Why the Independents went ſo high againſt the King: To uſurp the Regall power into themſelves, either in the Houſes purged; or in the Committee of ſafety at *Derby-houſe*.

Theſe deſperate courſes (to diſhonour the *King*, and make Him uncapable of Government, to ruine His Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, and extirpate Monarchy root and branch) were taken in order to the *uſurping the Kingly power into the Grandees of the Parliament and Army*, and in caſe they could not purge the two Houſes and make them wholly Independent, (which they now diſpaire of) then into the hands of the Committee, or Councell of State at *Derby-houſe*, and Grandees of the Army. In order to which, they are now contriving to ſtrengthen the ſaid Committee with more power and more Members, and to adjourn the Parliament and ſend downe the Presbyterian Members into the Country upon pretence of ſervice, where if any Tumults happen (for which their extortions will give ſufficient provocation) the ſaid diſſenting Members ſhall bear the blame; and have Blanck Impeachments given them to purge them out of the Houſes, if not out of the world; or at leaſt be ſequeſtred: for now they have ſqueezed what they can out of the Kings party by Sequeſtrations, the next fuell to their covetouſneſs is to ſequeſter the Presbyterians; and then to ſequeſter one another: for they are already divided into *pure Independents* and *mixed Independents*, and have feuds amongſt themſelves, for this Faction (inſatiate with money and bloud) are all beaſts of prey; and when they want prey, will prey upon one another: nor ſhall the Houſes meet above one Month or two in a yeare to ratifie and approve what *Derby-houſe* and the *Junto* of the Army ſhall dictate to them; and to give an Account to the domineering party how each Member hath carried himſelf in the Country: Thus inſtead of *one King*, we ſhall have *twenty* or *thirty Tyrants* in chief, and as many ſubordinate Tyrants as they pleaſe to imploy under them, with the Iron yoak of an Army to hold us in ſubjection to their Arbitrary Government.

75. Why the Grandees doe ſtill continue to truck with the King, notwithſtanding the ſaid 4 Votes.

Notwithſtanding the aforeſaid foure Votes and Reſolutions, the Caball of Grandees ſtill keep *Aſhburnham* and *Barkley* in the

Army, and have ſent diverſe Turn-coat-Cavaleers and Emiſſaries under-hand diſguiſed to the King, who pretending that by Bribes they have bought their admiſſion to Him, after ſome inſinuations endeavour with falſe and deceitfull news and arguments to ſhake His conſtancy, and perſwade Him to paſſe the ſaid Four dethroning Bils, (for theſe Uſurpers of Soveraigne Authority long to turn their armed and violent Tyranny into a legall Tyranny) or (at leaſt) to make Him *declare againſt the Scots coming in.* In both which caſes He will diſ-hearten His Friends, (who endeavour to take the golden reines of Government out of the gripes of theſe *Phaetons*, and reſtore them again to His hand) unking Himſelf and His Poſterity for ever, be carried up and down like a ſtalking-Horſe to their Deſignes, and be Crowned *Ludibrio Coronæ*, with ſtraw or thornes. For who can think that at the end of twenty years, theſe Uſurpers will lay downe what they have ſo unjuſtly, contrary to all Laws, Divine and Humane, and contrary to their own Declarations, Oaths and Covenants extorted? And who can, or dare, wreſt thoſe powers out of their hands, being once ſetled and growne cuſtomary in them: the peoples ſpirits broken with a habituall ſervitude; a numerous Army and Garriſons hovering over them; and all places of Judicature filled with corrupt Judges; who ſhall by conſtrained interpretations of the Law, force bloudy preſidents out of them, againſt whoſoever ſhall dare to be ſo good a Patriot as to oppoſe their Tyranny? They that could make *ſteel* ſharp enough to cut Captain *Barlyes* throat for attempting to reſcue the King out of the hands of a *rebellious Army, that neither obeyes King nor Parliament*, will find *gold* and *ſilver* enough to *corrupt all the Judges*: they mean to prefer and make them *wyld* and *vilde* enough for their purpoſes. But it is hoped He hath more of King, more of man in Him then to loſe His principles, and ſtumble again at the ſame ſtone, daſh againe upon the ſame Rock, whatſoever Syrens ſing upon it; knowing He hath a Son at liberty to revenge His wrongs, all the Princes of Chriſtendome His Allies, whoſe common cauſe is controverted in His ſufferings; the greateſt men of *England* and *Scotland* of His bloud, and the people generally (whoſe fartheſt deſigne was, to preſerve their Lawes and Liberties, and to defend the Parliament from being conquered by the Sword)

Sword) looking with an angry aſpect upon theſe Seducers, who by inſenſible degrees, and many forgeries have ingaged them further then they intended, not to the *Defence of Religion, Laws, and Liberties*, but to *the ſetting up of Schiſme, Committee Law, and Martiall Law, Impeachments before the Lords, and unlimited ſlavery.*

And I am confident this Faction deſpair of working upon the KING, who like a Rock is *mediis tutiſſimus undis*, whatſoever reports they give out to the contrary, having from the beginning made *lies* their refuge, which being wiſely foreſeen by the KING, He ſent a *Meſſage* to both Houſes, (by way of prevention) delivered in the painted Chamber by the Lord of *Lauderdale*, one of the Scots Commiſſioners: conſiſting of three heads.

1. *That He was taken from* Holdenby *againſt His will.*

2. *That they ſhould maintain the Honour and Priviledges of Parliament.*

3. *That they ſhould believe no Meſſage as coming from Him during His Reſtraint in the Army, but ſhould onely credit what they received from His own mouth.*

Theſe Grandees have cheated all the Intereſts of the Kingdome, and have lately attempted the City againe, and had the repulſe. But the King is their old Cuſtomer, and hath been often cheated by them, and having Him in ſtrict cuſtody, peradventure they may perſwade Him it is for His Safety to be deceived once more: wherefore (notwithſtanding their many endeavours to root up Monarchy, dethrone the King, and His Poſterity, and uſurp His power: in order to which, they have overwhelmed Him, and all His, with innumerable calamities and reproaches) yet ſince the paſſing of the Declaration againſt the King, their deſperate condition hath enforced them to make new Addreſſes in private to Him: notwithſtanding, their 4 Votes inflicting the *penalty of Treaſon upon the Infringers.* But Treaſon is as naturall to *Cromwell* as *falſe-accuſing*, *proteſting* and *lying*; he is ſo ſuperlative a Traytor, that the Lawes can lay no hold on him. Lieutenant Col. *Lylburne*, in a verball Charge delivered at the Commons Bar, accuſed him of many Treaſonable acts, which he avoweth to make good: and in his Book, called, *A Plea for a Habeas Corpus*: But as if *Cromwell* were a Traytor *cum privilegio*,

the Houſe of Commons, (being under his armed Guards) dares take no notice of it. But the Roman Tribune ſaid to *Scipio Africanus*, in *Livy*, *Qui jus æquum ferre non poteſt, in eum vim haud injuſtam fore*, He that exalts himſelf above the Law, ought not to be protected by the Law.

To conclude, *Cromwell* hath lately had private conference at *Farnham* with *Hammond*.

The Earle of *Southampton* hath been courted to negotiate with the King, and offered the two Speakers hands, for his warrant.

Capt. *Titus* taken into favour, and imployed that way.

Theſe Grandees have brought themſelves into a miſt, and now wander from one fooliſh deſigne to another.

The Spaniard is ſaid to forecaſt in his debates, what will happen forty years after. But theſe purblind Politicians doe not foreſee the event of their Councels forty daies, nay howers beforehand; but it is a curſe laid upon wicked men, to grope at noone day.

76. Debates in the H. of Commens upon the Scots Letters. 1 Concerning the ſaid 4 Votes.

About the 5. or 6. *Jan.* 1647. the Scots Commiſſioners had written certain Letters to the Houſe of Commons; one whereof *repeating the four Votes againſt the King*; propounded to know, *Whether the Houſes by their Votes, That no perſon whatſoever do preſume to make or receive any Application or Addreſſe to, or from the King*; *would debar the* Scots *to make or receive any Addreſſes to, or from Him, and ſo put an incapacity upon Him to perform Acts of Government towards them.* In the Debate, the Independents called to mind a more antient Vote, whereby it was ordered, *That the* Scots *might be admitted to the* KING. Againſt which, was alleaged, *That theſe later Votes being made generall, without exception, Repealed that former Vote.* At laſt by an interpretative Vote, it was concluded, *That notwithſtanding the ſaid four later Votes*, the former Vote, *That the* Scots *Commiſſioners might make Addreſſes to the King*, was ſtill in force. Obſerve that this was done four or five daies after the Scots Commiſſioners were on their way towards *Scotland*.

2 Concerning 100000l. due to the Scots.

The ſecond Letter was concerning 100000l. due by contract to the Scots from the Parliament, whereof 50000l. was payable by aſſignment to divers Scots Gentlemen who had advanced mony to haſten the Scots Army to our Relief; whereof 10000l. was payable to the Earl of *Argyle*.

Sir

Sir *Henry Mildmay* made a long Speech in praiſe of *Argyle*, ſaying, *That he and his party, and the Scotiſh Clergy, were the only men that upheld the Engliſh intereſt in* Scotland, *and were better friends to us then all* Scotland *beſides:* wherefore he moved, that *Argyle* might be payed his 10000l. and the reſt continued at Intereſt, at 8l. *per cent.* Preſently the whole Independent gang, with much zeale, and little diſcretion, ran that way, untill more moderate men ſtopping them in full cry, minded them what diſhonour and danger they might bring their friend into by laying him open to ſuſpition.

77. Six Commiſſioners ſent into *Scotland.*

After this, it was Reſolved to ſend 4 Commons and 2 Lords into *Scotland* as Commiſſioners, with Inſtructions: To ſend all Independents, would not be acceptable; 2 Presbyterian Commoners therefore were ſent, one whereof was ſweetned with the guift of 1000l. and an Office before they would truſt him: with them were ſent Mr. *Hearle*, and Mr. *Marſhall.*

78. Mr. *Marſhall.*

Marſhall, when he ſaw Independency prevaile, had ſecretly turned his coat the wrong ſide outward, and joyned intereſt with Mr *Nye*: But before he declared himſelf, he was to do ſome ſervice for his new party: Wherefore when the Army looked with a threatning poſture upon the Parliament and City, before they marched through *London*, (the common Souldiers being in ſuch diſcontent for want of pay, that they were ready to mutiny and disband, and their Officers ſcarce daring to govern them) the firſt fruits of *Marſhall's* ſervice to his new friends, was, to perſwade the City to lend the Parliament 50000l. to pacifie the Souldiers: aſſuring them by Letters, that *the Army had nothing but good thoughts towards the City, onely the common Souldiers were troubled for want of pay:* after the City had laid down the ſaid 50000l. his next labour was, to perſwade the Citizens to *let the Army march through the City without oppoſition, for avoiding of bloudſhed and firing: and to let them poſſeſſe the Tower, and Line of Communication.* After theſe ſervices, the Grandees of the Parliament and Army, finding him ſutable to them, received him into an avowed favour, and then 4 Independents and 4 Presbyterian Divines (conjoyning their Intereſts) were ſent to ſeaſon the Army, and new tune them according to the more moderne deſign: *Marſhall* was one; where, after he had Preached according to

the Dictates of the Grandees of the two Houſes and Army for divers weeks, *Marſhall* was thought fit to attend the Commiſſioners into *Scotland:* He and Maſter *Nye* had been ſent to *Cariſbrooke-Caſtle* formerly with thoſe Commiſſioners that carried the 4 Bils to the King, and had 500l. apiece given them for their journey.

Scotland, a longer journey, promiſed a larger reward: it is good being a poſtilion of the Goſpel at ſuch rates.

The Sunday before he went, he preached at *Margarets Weſtminſter*, and as much cried up Presbytery and the Covenant there, as he had before ſleighted them in the Army. This was a *Preparation Sermon*, to make him acceptable to the Scots, that he might cajole them the eaſier. Before he went he ſent his Agents from houſe to houſe at *Weſtminſter* to beg mens good wills towards his journey. He was willing upon this pretence to get what he could from St. *Margarets* Pariſh, where he found the people to grow cold in their affections, and contributions to him. Wherefore having made this Bargain before he went, to leave St. *Margarets*, and officiate in the *Abby* where he is to have 300l. *per annũ* certain allowance, he would rob the Ægyptians at St. *Margarets* for a parting blow. This Prieſt married his own Daughter with the Book of *Common Prayer* and a *Ring*, and gave for reaſon, *That the Statute eſtabliſhing that Liturgy was not yet repealed, and he was loath to have his Daughter whored and turned backe upon him for want of a Legall Mariage:* yet he can declare againſt all uſe of it by others. He hath ſo long curſed *Meroz* and *neutrality*, that he hath brought Gods curſe upon the land, and hath put Church and Common-wealth into a *flame*, but himſelf and his Brats have *warmed their fingers* at it: as Monies are decried or enhaunced by the Kings authority, ſo is every mans Religion cried up or down by *Marſhall's* authority and ſtamp.

79. The Anſwer to the Scots Declaration.

About the 24 of *February*, the *Anſwer* to the *Scots Declaration* began to be debated in parts: in which Debate the *Covenant* was much undervalued, and called, *an Almanack out of Date*. *Nathaniel Fiennes* argued againſt it, That that clauſe, in the Covenant, [*To defend the Kings Perſon, Crowne, and Dignity, &c.*] was inconſiſtent with their four Votes, *for making no Addreſſes to the* KING: To which was anſwered by ſome,

That

That then they would relinquiſh the foure Votes and adhere to the Covenant.

About the beginning of *March*, was given to Col. *Sydenham* and Col. *Bingham* 1000l. apiece, as part of their Arrears; their Accounts not yet ſtated. To the Lord of *Broghill* 2000l. To Maſter *Fenwicke* 500l. for loſſes. To Mr. *Millington* 2000l. for loſſes. To Col. *Ven* 4000l. notwithſtanding it was moved he might firſt account for Contribution money, the Plunder of the Country about *Windſor*, and the Kings Houſhold-ſtuffe, Hangings, Linnen, and Bedding. Mr. *Pury* the Petty-bag Office, beſides 1000l. formerly given him. To *Pury's* Son, the Clerk of the Peaces place, and 100l. a year: all *Independents*. 80. Money ſhared amongſt godly Members.

The 7. of *March*, an Ordinance paſſed the Commons to ſettle 2500l. a year land, out of the Marqueſſe of *Worceſter's* Eſtate, upon Lieut. Gen. *Oliver Cromwell*. I have heard ſome Gentlemen, that know the Mannor of *Chepſtow*, and the reſt of the Lands ſetled upon him affirme, that in the particulars the ſaid Lands are ſo favourably rated, that they are worth 5000l. or 6000l. a year: It is farther ſaid thoſe Lands are bravely wooded. You ſee though they have not made King CHARLES, *a glorious King*, as they promiſed; yet they have ſetled a *Crown Revenue* upon *Oliver*, and have made him as great and glorious a *king* as ever *John of Leyden* was. Wonder not that they conſpire to keep up this Army, as well to make good theſe Largeſſes, as to keep their guilty heads upon their ſhoulders. 81. *Cromwell.*

Thurſday, 9. *March*, the Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, *To deſire their concurrence to the Engagement of thoſe Members that fled to the Army, to live and die with the Army.* It was Debated all day, untill ſeven of the clock at night; and at laſt the queſtion put, *That this Houſe doth approve the ſubſcription of the ſaid Members to the ſaid Ingagement.* The Houſe divided upon the queſtion, *yeas* 100. *noes* 91. 82. A Meſſage from the Lords deſiring the Commons concurrence to the Ingagement of the Members with the Army. The Ingagement approved by threats.

Obſerve 1. that Mr. Solicitor, *Haſterigge*, and many more, when they perceived difficulty in paſſing it, began to skirmiſh with their long Sword again. And many told them, *they muſt give co tent without dores* (meaning, to the Army) *as well as within, or elſe all would go naught.*

2. 44 Of thoſe Members that ingaged with the Army ſate in the

the Houſe, and Voted in their own caſe; many of them carrying themſelves very high and inſolently in their geſtures and expreſſions.

3. Many Presbyterians left the Houſe becauſe it was late, and ſome (as it is thought) not daring to vote in the Negative.

4. This Engagement about ſix Months agoe had been ſent to the Commons by the Lords once or twice, and was rejected; yet now was obtruded upon them againe by the Lords, who would not acquieſce; contrary to the Priviledges of the Houſe of Commons.

5. This approbation thus ſurreptitiouſly gotten, is equall to a Pardon ſued forth before Conviction, which in Law amounteth to a Confeſſion of the Crime.

83. The temper of the Houſe tried, had the ingagement not been approved, a new Charge from the Army intended.

6. The *Agitators* tell you in *Derby-houſe Projects*, p. 7. *That this Engagement was ſent down to the Commons to try the temper of the Houſe, and if the Houſe had not approved of the Engagement, the reſolution of their ſecret Councell was to flie to their Armes, and make a new Charge againſt their principall Oppoſers*; for they acknowledge amongſt themſelves, *That they Rule by Power onely, and that the Houſe of Commons is no longer theirs then they overawe them, and that they fear the Criticall day will come which will diſcover the Parliament to be no longer theirs then while they have a force upon it.*

As men ready to ſink, embrace every ſhaddow of help, and catch hold of leaves, twigs, and bulruſhes, to ſupport them: ſo theſe deſperate and purblind Projectors, having engaged themſelves in a way of Tyranny, out of which, they can find no iſſue; lay hold of frivolous inventions to peece up from time to time their ill laid deſignes, like the man in the parable, *that patched up his old Garment with new cloth, which breaking out again left the rent wider then it was before.*

84. A project to unite all Intereſts.

Their laſt project was *to unite all Intereſts in the Houſes, City, and Army*: To which purpoſe *Cromwell* (the heavieſt, baſeſt, and moſt ridiculous Tyrant that ever our noble Nation groaned under) made a Speech in the Houſe of Commons: to which was anſwered, *That the Members were choſen and truſted by the people to purſue on common Intereſt*, which was, *the common good, the Safety and Liberty of the people, and whoſoever had any peculiar Intereſt*

eccentric

eccentrick from that, was not fit to ſit in that Aſſembly, and deſerved to be called to a ſtrict account by thoſe that truſted him.

Obſerve that the extent of this project was to conjoyne theſe *three intereſts* for upholding the greatneſſe of the Grandees, in the *Parliament*, *City*, and *Army*; for in all three the vulgar multitude, and the more modeſt and honeſt ſort, are but in the ſame condition with other men: The Parliament bearing the *Authority*, the Army the *Sword*, and the City the *Purſe*.

The *firſt*, ſhall be the Task-maſters, and impoſe Tribute.

The *ſecond*, the Sheriffs, or rather Free-booters, and leavy it by diſtreſſe.

And the *third*, the Brokers to receive and buy it off.

But it pleaſed God to beſtow ſo much providence and integrity upon the City, that when upon Saturday 8 *April*, 1646. *Cromwell* and his fellow Grandees offered this temptation (at a Common Councell) to them;

The City grew wiſer then our firſt Parents, and rejected the Serpent and his ſubtilties, inſomuch that *Cromwell* netled with the affront, called his Solicitor *Glover* to account by what authority he had offered the *reſtitution of the Tower and Militia, and the enlargement of their accuſed Aldermen:* who anſwered, *he did it by his authority*, and delivered him a Warrant to that purpoſe ſigned by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, *Oliver Cromwell*, Mr Solicitor, and young Sir *Henry Vane:* which *Cromwell* had the impudence to put in his pocket.

Cromwell had felt the pulſe of the City long before by his Agents *Glover* and *Watkins*, and found them averſe from complying with him: wherefore (being a man of an early, as well as an implacable malice) he (by the advice of the Committee of *Derby-houſe*) caſt about with the ſchiſmaticall Lord Mayor *Warner*, (he that raiſed the ridiculous Tumult at Chriſtmas about Roſemary and Bayes: a man that had been choſen Mayor by power of Parliament, (out of courſe) to carry on the deſigne of the Faction) and with the Lieutenant of the Tower how to put the City into ſome diſtemper, of which they might take advantage. The Citizens were well acquainted with their jugling tricks, they had no hopes to work upon them: wherefore they contrived how to put a provocation upon the ſilly Apprentice Boyes, and put them

See the Argument againſt all Accommodation between the City and Grandees, &c. and the ſeaſonable caution to the City; printed at the latter end of this Book.

85.
A device to put the Apprentices into a Tumult.

forth into ſome raſh action, of which they might make uſe to carry on their deſignes againſt the whole City: wherefore upon Eaſter-day, 1648. in the evening ſome few Apprentices playing in *Finniſbury fields*, ſome Souldiers were ſent to drive them away; which they did, and Impriſoned ſome of them for not readily obeying: Upon Sunday following, *9 April*, divers Apprentices being at play (according to cuſtome) in *Moor-fields*; the Mayor ſent Capt. *Gale* (one of the new Captains of the Hamlets, a Silk-Throſter, and a Tub-Preacher, and one that ran away at the Fight at *Newbury-waſh*, and hid himſelf in a Ditch, as my L. *Wharton* at the Battle of *Keynton* hid himſelf in a Saw-pit) thither to diſturb them, with about 50 or 60 of his Trained Band, and no more, (that he might the better incourage the Boyes to reſiſt him) who furlily asking them *what they did there?* ſome of them anſwered, *they did no harm but onely play; and ſince all Holy-daies have been Voted down, they had no other time of recreation:* The Captain inſolently commanded them to *be gone:* they replied, *he had no authority ſo to doe*, and continued playing: whereupon the Captain commanded his Muſquetiers to *ſhoot amongſt them*; which they forbearing, he took a Muſquet himſelf, and diſcharged amongſt them, when preſently two or three ſchiſmaticall Muſquetiers of his Company following his example, diſcharged upon them likewiſe, and killed (or, as the Schiſmaticks ſay, wounded only) one of the Boyes: whereat the Boyes making a great out-cry, more company gathered to them; and ſo with ſtones, brick-bats, and ſticks, they diſperſed the Trained Band: and at laſt, got their Colours, and inſtantly in a childiſh jollity marched (un-armed as they were) towards the *Mewes*, when preſently a Party of Horſe (ready prepared for this forelaid deſigne) met them, charged, and with eaſe routed them; *Cromwell* himſelfe animating the Troupers *to ſhoot and ſpit them, and to ſpare neither man, woman, nor child.* All Sunday night the Apprentices kept in a body in the City, locked the City gates, but ſet no Guards upon them; whereby you may ſee this buſineſs proceeded meerly from the raſh and un-premeditated folly of Children, not from the advice of Men: howſoever the Independent faction in the Houſe of Commons have ſince aggravated it, to countenance their future cruelty and rapines upon the City: Monday morning Sir *Tho: Fairfax* ſent a

ſtrong

ſtrong party into the City, who fell upon this boyiſh rabble, routed and killed many, and ſhot poor Women great with Child, ſitting in their ſtalls, one whereof the Child lived two howers in her belly after her braines were ſhot out: a man likewiſe not knowing of their comming, as he was drinking Milk at the corner of a ſtreet, was ſhot (as it were) in ſport: as they rid, they cried, *Cuckolds keep your houſes*, cutting and wounding all they met; *Cromwell* (who followed in the Reer ſafe enough, the Van having cleered the ſtreets before him) cried out to them to *Fire the City*. Oh *Oliver!* what a barbarous *John of Leyden* art thou become? Oh *London!* how wretched a *Munſter* wilt thou become? at laſt they drove thoſe ſilly unarmed wretches into *Leaden-hall*, and took many of them Priſoners, none of the Trained Bands, nor Citizens, appearing to help theſe poor Boyes, but leaving the Souldiers to get a bloudy and boyiſh Triumph over them, as they pleaſed, they are now impriſoned in *Cromwell's* ſhambles at *White-hall*. This is the truth of the buſineſſe, notwithſtanding, the long-winded lying report made by Alderman *Fouks*, at the Commons Bar: a man that hath feather'd his neſt well theſe miſerable times, and hath much publique mony ſticking to his fingers; who, when he gave in his Accompt before the generall Committee of Accounts, refuſed to give it in upon Oath, (as other men did) alleaging *Magna Charta, that no man was bound to accuſe himſelf:* It ſhould ſeem he had ſomething in his Conſcience that would not endure the teſt of an Oath: but he is one of the Godly, and therefore the good things of this world belong unto him.

The Houſe of Commons (upon this occaſion) gave 1000l. to the Souldiers for their valorous exploit, and voted 1000 Foot, and 100 Horſe to be kept in the *Tower*. The Garriſons of *White-hall* and the *Mewes* to be ſtrengthned: 3 Barges capable of 50 Muſquetiers apiece to lie at *White-hall* for the Souldiers to convey themſelves to any landing-place to diſperſe ſuch Watermen as ſhall aſſemble: The City Chains to be taken away from their Poſts, and a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to iſſue forth to murder more of theſe Children legally.

The Mayor having kindled this fire in the City, ſtole out at a window diſguiſed, and hid his fooliſh head in the Tower.

The Houſe of Commons (over-ruled by the Grandees) Voted a day of Thankſgiving for this Delivery. So bold are theſe Saints, as to mock Gods holy Name with impious devotions to colour their deſignes.

86. The Lord *Inchiquin.*

The Lord *Inchiquin*, Preſident of *Munſter*, and Generall of the Army there, had a long time been heaved at by the Independent Faction. The Lord *Liſle*, (who gaped after his imployment) Sir *John Temple*, *Cromwell*, the Lord *Broughill*, Sir *Arthur* and Sir *Adam Loftus*, and others: who by obſtructing all ſupplies of Money, Ammunition, Victuall, Cloathes; laboured to mutiny and disband his Army, that they might ſend Schiſmaticks of their owne party to Lord it there, as they doe here, and keep *Ireland* as a Retreat for the Saints: for the better effecting whereof, they had ſent over many Emiſſaries, whom they had commended to him, to be Officers in his Army. When this would not doe, they printed ſcandalous Articles againſt him, and put infinite provocations upon him to incite him to do that which they falſly accuſed him to have done already: But the many gallant ſervices he performed ſince the publiſhing thoſe Articles gave them the lie, and confuted all their ſlanders; at laſt (under colour of ſending a ſupply of Forces to him) they projected to ſurprize him, and bring him away Priſoner; ſo that he hath ſuffered all the convulſions that treacherous friends, and malicious enemies could put upon him. And lately (for the more cloſe conveyance of the deſigne) the Houſes ſent three Commiſſioners towards *Ireland*, to ſurvey his actions; but (as if it were purpoſely done) when the Commiſſioners came as far on their way as *Briſtoll*, about a dozen renegado Officers of his Army met the Commiſſioners and turned them backe againe. The ſaid Officers poſted up to the Parliament before the Commiſſioners and the 13 *April* were called in to the Commons Bar, where they made a Relation to the Houſe, to this purpoſe, That the Lord *Inchiquin* having made an expedition into the County of *Kerry*, upon his return, ſent for theſe Officers into his preſence Chamber, and told them, *He intended to declare againſt the Army and Independent party in* England, *who kept the* KING *and Parliament under a force: That he would ſtand for the Liberty of the* KING *and Parliament, and a free Conference to ſettle Peace; and that he expected all his Officers ſhould*

ſhould joyne with him in ſo honourable an undertaking; but ſhould take an Oath of Secreſie, before he diſcovered himſelf farther to them. They anſwered, *They could take no ſuch Oath before they knew whether they might with a ſafe Conſcience keep it,* ſaying, *they would be true to the Parliament.* My Lord *Inchiquin* replied, *So have I, and will be; delude me not with ambiguous words: Doe you mean this pretended Parliament?* telling them farther, *he had good correſpondence with all all the Preſbyterians in* Scotland *and* England, *as well in the Parliament, as out of it; that he doubted not to go through with his undertaking; and if the worſt hapned, to make good conditions for himſelfe and his party. That he would make peace with the Lord* Taffe, *(and that he knew the Independents in* England *were upon Treaty with* Owen, Roe, Oneale,*) who was a man of their humour, and loved to keep all in combuſtion.* They refuſed to joyne, he diſmiſſed them for *England.* The ſame day Letters from Captain *John Crowther* (Vice-Admirall of the Iriſh Seas) from a ſhipboard, were read in the Houſe, much to the ſame purpoſe, though not ſo large: wherein he ſaid, *He had already blocked up all my Lord* Inchiquin's *Havens.*

87. *Allen* the Gold-ſmith, moveth to put the Houſe to the touch, by ſome Covenant, Declaration, &c.

Preſently *Allen* the Gold-ſmith moved, *That ſince the Lord* Inchiquin *had diſcovered, that he had a correſpondency with the Preſbyterians in the Houſe, before they dealt with their Enemies without dores, they ſhould try who were their Enemies within dores, by putting all men to ſome Covenant, Engagement, or Proteſtation, &c.* and Lieutenant Generall *Cromwell* ſaid, *That being to debate this buſineſſe to morrow, whoſoever with croſſe Arguments ſhall ſpin out the Debate, and ſo retard our proceedings, (by my conſent) ſhall be noted with a black Coale:* to which was anſwered, *That this tended to take away freedome of debate, which was the life of Parliaments, and of all Councels; and was deſtructive to the very being of Parliaments.*

It is not amiſſe to inſert here by way of digreſſion, what I formerly omitted: Sir *Henry Mildmay* long ſince moved, *That* 150 *rich Guard-Coats of the* KINGS, *might be ſold for* 800*l. to find Fire and Candle for the Souldiers in* White-hall. The Queſtion put: The Speaker gave judgment, *the Yeas had it.* Mr *Edward Stephens* declared *the Noes had it.* They were unwilling to divide upon ſuch a queſtion: but Mr *Stephens* perſiſted; and *Robert Reynolds*

ſaid aloud, *notice ſhall be taken of him, for putting ſuch a diſhonour upon the Houſe.* Upon the Diviſion, the *Noes* carried it by nine voices. Thereupon, complaint was made againſt *Reynolds*, for *attempting againſt the liberty of Voting*, but no redreſſe.

But to return from my digreſſion: the next day (14 of *April*) it was moved that my Lord *Inchiquin's* Son, a Child of 8 or 9 years old, going to School at *Thiſtleworth, might be ſecured in the Tower and kept for an Hoſtage.* To which was Anſwered, *That no man could take an Hoſtage without conſent: an Hoſtage muſt be given upon the publick faith, upon ſome ſtipulation, and muſt be ſo received, by mutuall agreement; you cannot puniſh the Child for the Fathers fault:* yet he was Voted to the Tower, and ſent. My Lord *Inchiquin's* Commiſſion as Preſident of *Munſter*, and Generall of the Army, Voted *void, and no man to obey him*, himſelfe Voted *a Trayter*: yet no man examined upon Oath againſt him, nor any man ſent to take information of the buſineſſe into *Ireland*, and his profeſſed Enemy, the Lord *Liſle*, is to go Generall into *Munſter* in his roome; and the ſaid fugitive Officers all rewarded, as if they had brought acceptable news.

This day *Reynolds* revived *Allens* motion for *putting the Members to the Teſt, by ſome Covenant, Proteſtation, or Declaration ſubſcribed, That this is a Free Parliament, and that they would live and die With this Parliament and Army:* To which was anſwered,

1. That by Ordinance of both Houſes, all men were enjoyned to take the Nationall Covenant. This Covenant is the true Touchſtone of the Parliament, and ſo agreed upon by the wiſdome of both Nations; yet many ſit here who refuſe to obey this Ordinance: I know no reaſon therefore, why any man ſhould obey you in any other Ordinance of this nature: let us keep the old Covenant before we take any new.

2. It hath been moved in this Houſe, that the Oaths of Juſtices of the Peace, and Sheriffs, might be taken away: I hope you will not aboliſh legall Oaths, and impoſe illegall Oaths. This Houſe hath not ſo much Authority, as to adminiſter an Oath, much more to impoſe one: you muſt allow to others that Liberty of Conſcience which you demand for your ſelves.

3. Major *Gray* told you, my Lord *Inchiquin* ſaid he had correſpondency with all the Presbyterians in the Houſe, who had made

made their peace with the KING. But my Lord *Inchiquin* told him farther, the Independents were upon Treaty with *Owen, Roe,* and *Oneale,* let them clear themſelves of that imputation firſt, before they give a purgation unto others, otherwiſe what you doe, will ſavour of force.

4. The true Touch-ſtone to try every mans integrity is, to examine, who have enriched themſelves by the calamities of the times and your ſervice: and who are impoveriſhed.

5. This is a new device to purge the Houſe.

38. The Counties compelled to give thanks to the Houſes for their Votes againſt the King.

The Grandees of the Houſe have cantonized the Kingdome between them, every man in his Diviſion protecting the Country Committees, and receiving tribute from them in recompence of their protection; and *Prideaux* the Poſt-maſter being king of the *Weſt Saxons,* his Vice-roy or Lord Deputy for the County of *Somerſet* is that running Col. *John Pyne,* who being often inſpired with Sack, rules the Committee and County by inſpiration. *Pyne* and his Peers of the Committee, to pleaſe his Superiours, ſet on foot a draught of a *Petition* to be handed by the Country, *Giving thanks to the Parliament for their 4 Votes againſt the* KING, and *promiſing to live and die With the Parliament and Army,* and *deſiring the County might be freed from Malignants, Neuters, and Apoſtates*; which (in their interpretation) ſignifies *Preſbyterians* and *moderate men,* who will not daunce about the flame when the Independents make a Bonfire of the Common-wealth. The Eaſterne Diviſion of *Somerſet-ſhire* rejected the Petition: in the Weſterne Diviſion *Pyne* and his Committee ſending abroad their Sequeſtrators, with the Petition, (threatned to take them for Malignants & Sequeſter them that refuſed) got many Subſcriptions; but the Subſcribers ſince (better informed of the danger and miſchiefe of thoſe Votes) retracted what they had done by a *counter-Petition,* wherein they declared, that *their Subſcription to the former Petition was contrary to their judgment and Conſciences, and extorted by terror of Sequeſtrators, and threats of being Sequeſtred.* This affront ſtung the Committee, and opened the eyes of the Country: as the like fooliſh attempt of Sir *Henry Mildmay* did the eyes of the County of *Eſſex.* Wherefore to find a plaiſter for this broken pate, Sergeant *Wyld* (he that hang'd Capt. *Burly*) comming that Circuit, care was taken to have a ſelect Grand-

Jury

Jury of Schiſmaticks and Sequeſtrators blended together, who made a Preſentment ſubſcribed by 19 of their hands, which Sergeant *Wyld* preſerved in his pocket; and upon Tueſday, 18 *April*, delivered with as much gravity as a ſet ſpeech and ſet ruffe could furniſh him withall in the Houſe of Commons, and was read and hearkned unto by the thriving Godly, with as much attention, as pricking up of eares, and turning up of eyes could demonſtrate: the Contents of this Preſentment were the ſame with the aforeſaid revoked Petition. Great care was taken to give thanks to the High Sheriffe and Grand Jury, who had ſo freely delivered the ſenſe of that wel-affected County: and as much care taken to improve this Talent and put it to Intereſt throughout the Kingdome. Col. *Pureſoy* is now at this work in *Warwick-ſhire*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerigge* about *Newcaſtle*: others in other places. Pitifull Crutches to ſupport a cripled reputation, which now halts and begs for relief worſe then their owne maimed Souldiers doe, and with as bad ſucceſſe they have jugled themſelves out of credit, and would faine juggle themſelves in again. Behold the wiſdome of our Grandees; wiſe, religious, new-modelled Polititians, who have brought themſelves and the whole Kingdome into theſe deplorable, contemptible ſtraits; take notice of your Repreſentative you that are Repreſented, call them to a ſeaſonable accouat: But whether doth my zeale carry me? I ſhall anon ſtumble upon a new fangled Treaſon to be declared againſt me without, nay againſt law.

89. Mens tongues tied up by an Ordinance.

Friday, 21 *April*, an Ordinance was preſented to the Houſe, intituled, *For ſuppreſſing all Tumults and Inſurrections*, (the Committee of Safety at *Derby-houſe* had before an ample power conferred upon them for that purpoſe; but guilty conſciences though they be ſafe, are never ſecure; like *Cain*, they think that every man will ſlay them) it was paſſed after ſome amendments to this purpoſe, *That any three Committee-men ſhall have power to Impriſon and Sequeſter all ſuch as ſhall actually adhere to any that ſhall raiſe, or endeavour to raiſe Tumults and Inſurrections; or ſhall ſpeak or publiſh any thing reproachfull to the Parliament, or their proceedings:* Behold here an exciſe (amounting to the value of all you have) ſet upon every light word: a man made an offender for a word, to the utter ruine of him and his poſterity; under colour

colour of *defending Laws, Liberties,* and *Properties,* you are *cheated of them all,* and *reduced* to meer and abſolute *ſlavery* and *beggery:* you are not maſters of your own carkaſſes, yet your mouths are buttoned up; you muſt not be allowed that ſilly comfort of venting your griefs by way of complaint: what Tyrant was ever ſo barbarous, ſo indiſcreet as to do the like? It was moved that Offenders of this kind might be bound to the good behaviour, and the offence proved openly at the Aſſizes or Seſſions, before ſo deſtructive a puniſhment be inflicted. There are three principles in Law, of which the Laws are very tender, and will not ſuffer them to be touched but upon great Offences, cleer Proofs, and exact formalities obſerved; *life, liberty,* and *eſtate:* by *Magna Charta,* the *Petition of Right,* and many other Statutes; theſe principles are ſo ſacred, that nothing but the Law can meddle with them, *Nemo impriſonetur aut diſſeiſietur niſi per legale judicium parium ſuorum.* You have made the people ſhed their mony and bloud abundantly, pretending *defence of Religion, Laws,* and *Liberties*; let them now at laſt (being a time of peace) enjoy what they have ſo dearly paid for; and delay them not with a pretended neceſſity of your own making; you now make all that is, or can be neer and deer to them, lyable to the paſſions of three Committee-men, to judge and execute according to their diſcretion, without Law; or ſo much as a formality thereof: And yet both Houſes of Parliament have often heretofore offered to aboliſh thoſe Committees, as men, whoſe wickedneſſe and folly they and the whole Kingdome were aſhamed of. The Grandees of the Parliament and Army, when the Houſes are called, and full, have reſolved to draw their Forces neer about the Town, and by that terrour to trie the temper of the Houſes; ſuch Members as will not comply with them, they will with freſh Charges purge out of the Houſes, and publiſh baſe and infamous ſcandals againſt them, to which if they ſubmit with ſilence, they betray their reputations forever, and ſpare the credits of their jugling enemies. If they make any defence for their honours by way of apology, they ſhall be brought within the compaſſe of this devouring, inſlaving Ordinance, as *men that reproach the Parliament, and their proceedings.* Thus the ſame whip ſhall hang over the ſhoulders of the Presbyterian party, (who will not agree to *King-depoſing,*

Anarchy and *ſchiſme*) as it did formerly over the KING's party. And the Presbyterians ſhall be ſqueezed into the Independents coffers, as formerly the KING's party were, ſo long as they had any thing to loſe; for the whole earth is little enough for theſe Saints, who are never ſatisfied with mony and bloud, although they never look towards Heaven but through the ſpectacles of this world. The old *elogium* and character of the Engliſh Nation was, that they were, *Hilaris gens, cui libera mens, & libera lingua.* But now (Country-men) your tongues are in the ſtocks, your bodies in every gaole, your ſouls in the dark, and eſtates in the mercy of thoſe that have no mercy, and at the diſcretion of thoſe that have no diſcretion: Farewell *Engliſh liberty.*

90. The Kentiſh Committee-warre.

In the *Epiſtle* to this Book, I have given you an account of the bloudy Anſwer given to the *Surrey* Petitioners, *May* 16. 1648. I muſt in the next place ſpeak ſomething of the *Kentiſh Petition*, and of the *Committee-war* there raiſed to oppoſe it; which took his riſe and beginning partly from the inſolency and oppreſſions of their tyrannicall *Committee-men*, (perſons for the moſt part of weak fortunes, and weaker wits) and partly from the frantick zeale of the Mayor of *Canterbury* (who for his Religion, prudence, and honeſty, may well be younger Brother to *Warner* Lord Mayor of *London*) upon *Chriſtmas day*, 1648. ſundry people going to the Church of *Canterbury* to ſolemnize that day, were uncivilly interrogated and roughly handled by the Mayor, as if it were ſuperſtition, nay impiety to ſerve God upon that day; or as if ſome daies were exempted from ſerving God, as ſome daies are exempted from worldly labour: this grew to a Tumult; which the Committee of the County hearing, they preſently gathered Forces to make oſtentation of their power in ſuppreſſing it, but were prevented by intelligence that all was quiet; but this quietneſs was rather a truce, then a laſting peace; a deſire of revenge againſt the Major for wounding ſome of the people, like fire hid under aſhes, broke forth two daies after; but was preſently pacified by the diſcreet endevors of Sr *W. Man*, Ald. *Sabin* & Mr *Lovelace* a Lawyer. The Committee of the County preſently aſſemble *forces*, with wch (together with their Chaplaines, and other inſtruments of war) they march to reduce that City; and (though they had news that *all was appeaſed*) yet would they not believe it, but continued

nued their march in Triumph; where finding the Gates open, they took them off and burnt them, threw down part of their Walls, thereby degrading the City, and turning it into a Village, as a Trophy of their high indignation; committed many to Priſon upon light ſuſpitions, amongſt whom, the aforeſaid 3 Peacemakers, for being ſo ſaucy as to compoſe the difference, and thereby deprive their *highneſſes* of a Triumphant Victory. For theſe upſtart Committees mounted above the ſphere of their activity, and having ſtolne His Majeſties Sword (His principall mark of Soveraignty wherewith He protects His people) out of His Scabbert, know not how to uſe it, but to the deſtruction of the people: like ill natured Children, they have gotten a gay thing, and muſt do miſchief with it. And for farther magnifying of their power to the Country, and their diligence to the Parliament, they charged theſe Priſoners with High Treaſon, and ſo forgot them languiſhing in Gaole, had not thoſe Gentlemen remembred themſelves, and clamoured for a Triall; which at laſt was granted them by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to Sergeant *Wylde*, and Sergeant *Creſwell*: the Juryes were men known to be wel-affected to the Parliament, who found *Ignoramus* upon the Bill, and (notwithſtanding many checks and taunts from the Committee, and the refuſing of the return) adhered, ſo that the Court adjourned for ſome Months. Hereupon the Kentiſh men fearing the tyrannicall diſpoſition of their Committees, conſulted with the ſaid Grand Jury upon the place concerning a Petition to the Parliament *for Peace*, to end our diſtractions; wch Petition was ſubſcribed by the Grand Jury, in the name of the whole County. The Committee jealous that theſe things would hearten the people, and looſen the bonds of that ſlaviſh feare, wherein they had hitherto held them captive; printed, and cauſed to be publiſhed in all Churches a Paper prohibiting the ſame Petition, and branding it with the name of *ſeditious and tumultuous*, ſaying, *they would hang two in every Pariſh that were Promoters of it, and Sequeſter the reſt.* And endeavoured firſt to raiſe Forces in the County; but at laſt made their complaints to the Army. When the Country ſaw their juſt deſires like to be ſuppreſſed by Armes, and themſelves to be ſtill Committee-ridden, they reſolved upon a place of meeting to promote their Petition, and

to come Armed thither for their owne defence onely. But the County Committee plied their buſineſſe ſo well with the Committee of *Derby-houſe* and the *Army*, that they firſt drew a party of Horſe into the County, who committed many murders according to cuſtome; and then the whole Army, which at *Blackheath* encamped on the ſame place where the Petitioners intended to *Rendezvous*. So the reſult of all is but this: The whole County of *Kent* oppreſſed with a tyranous Committee, and a lingring War, now likely to be renewed; prepare to preſent a Petition to the Parliament *for Peace:* and had appointed a day and place of meeting, which by reaſon of the large extent of the County they could not alter at the pleaſure of the Committee: and being terrified by the menaces and warlike preparations of the ſaid Committee, brought their Arms with them in order only to ſelf-defence, (allowable by the Lawes of God and man, and by the doctrine and practice of this Parliament and Army; and peradventure induced thereto by the ſad Maſſacre of the *Surrey* Petitioners.) The Committee to ſupport their uſurped, illegall authority, invite an Army to breake in upon them with *fire* and *ſword*, and ſo enforced them upon thoughts and actions of War, never before thought on: as will appear.

1. Becauſe many of the Petitioners went home the next day after the *Rendezvous*.

2. The County had provided no Generall, nor no old Commanders.

3. They never thought of forming an Army untill Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was ſtorming one of their Townes.

4. The *Kentiſh-men* were compelled to take in *Sandwich*, and the 3 Caſtles, leſt they ſhould fall upon the backs of them when the Army marched againſt them; yet did they hurt no man in perſon or goods: which argued a peaceable diſpoſition, ayming onely at defence. Thus you ſee a whole County alwaies well-affected to the Parliament, complaining of a few Independent ſectary Committee-men, Sequeſtrators, &c. for infinite Oppreſſions and cheats daily committed: They being weighed in the ſcales together, the whole County are thought too light for want of an unpartiall holding the ballance even: one prudentiall conſideration; That they muſt not diſcountenance their friends

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(as they call the Committee) and ſomething elſe more ſubſtantiall, being put into the Committees ſcale hoyſeth the whole County into the ayre. And when the Parliaments Army was on *Blackheath*, the County ſending ſome of their Gentry with petitionary Letters to the Houſe of Commons, declaring *the peaceableneſſe of their inclinations, their continued obedience to the Houſes, and a deſire their grievances againſt their Committee might be put into a way of Examination and redreſſe*: they could obtain no other Anſwer (the ſchiſmaticall ingaged party overpowring the Houſe with the neer approach of their own Army, for it it is no bodies elſe) then, *that they would ſend them an Anſwer by their Generall*; which was as much as if they had ſaid, *They would ſend an Anſwer by the Executioner*: the terror of this Anſwer made the Country deſperately ingage in an un-premeditated Warre, for which they were wholly unprovided, as the irreſolute and diſtracted managing of it makes manifeſt. But this advantage was greedily laid hold of by the Saints, to raviſh a Victory from the Country, which they were reſolved to uſe with ſo much ſecreſie and ſolemne cruelty, that the example thereof ſhould ſtrike an awfulneſſe into the hearts of all that ſhould hear of it, and beget a ſlaviſh fear in the whole Kingdome to ſubmit to the laying aſide of the KING, and His Negative Voice; and the eſtabliſhing of a tyrannicall Olygarchy in the Grandees of the two Houſes and Army: for finding the whole Kingdome to hate them with a perfect hatred, they have no hope to Govern by Love, but by Fear; which (according to the Turkiſh rule) is more predominant and conſtant paſſion. And certainly had not *Goring's* paſſing over at *Greenwich* into *Eſſex* compelled *Fairfax* to follow immediatly after with his Army, they had been uſed with much extremity: inſomuch that *Weaver* (a Member, fuller of zeale then wiſdome; though wiſe enough for his own profit, as moſt Saints and Knaves are) moved in the Houſe, *That all* Kent *might be Sequeſtred, becauſe they had Rebelled*; *and all* Eſſex, *becauſe they would Rebell*. And truly this is as good a way as *Cromwell's* ſelling his Welch Priſoners for 12d. a head, to be tranſported into barbarous Plantations; whereby, to expell the *Canaanites* and make new Plantations in old *England* for the Godly, the ſeed of the Faithfull: for this Faction (like the Devill) cry, *all is mine*.

91. *Banbury-Caſtle* obtruded upon the State.

27. *May.* A friend of my Lord *Say's*, moved the Houſe of Commons, *That* Banbury-Caſtle *might be demoliſhed to prevent any Surpriſe thereof by Malignants*, ſaying, *it had already coſt the State* 200000l. *to reduce it, and had undone the Country; which was unable to pay for it: It belonged to a Noble, Godly perſon, the L.* Say, *and it was not fit to demoliſh it without his conſent and recompence; it was therefore deſired the State ſhould bear the charge, his Lordſhip being willing to ſell it for* 2000l. To which was Anſwered, *That other wel-affected Gentlemen had their Houſes deſtroyed for ſervice of the State, without recompence; not ſo well provided to beare the loſſe as my Lord* Say: *as Mr* Charles Doyly, *two handſome habitable Houſes, Mr* Vachell, *ſome Houſes in* Reading; *and others well deſerving of the State, though not of themſelves.* This Caſtle was unhabitable, a rude heap of ſtones, a publike nuſance to the Country. It coſt his Lordſhip but 500l. and now to obtrude it upon the State at 2000l. price, in ſo great a ſcarcity and want of mony, the Kingdome groaning under Taxes, was not reaſonable. So divine providence not ſaying *Amen* to it, this Cheat failed like the untimely birth of a woman.

92. The impeached Lords, Members and Aldermen.

About the beginning of *June*, a debate hapned in the Houſe of Commons about the four impriſoned Aldermen, occaſioned by a Petition from the City, and concerning the impeached Lords and Commons. Mr *Gewen* ſpake modeſtly in their behalf, ſaying, *That what they did was done by virtue of an Ordinance of Parliament made this very Seſſions of Parliament, and without any intent to raiſe a new Warre, but onely to defend the City againſt the menaces of the Army marching up againſt them and the Parliament.* But Mr *Gourdon* (a man hot enough for his zeale to ſet a Kingdome on fire) Anſwered, *He thought they intended a new War, and were encouraged thereto by the Gentleman that ſpake laſt; when he ſaid to them at their Common Councell, Up and be doing:* Mr *Walker* (perceiving Mr *Gewen* to be cauſleſly reflected upon) replied, *That ſince this debate upon the City Petition tended towards a cloſing up of all differences, it was unfit men that ſpake their Conſciences freely and modeſtly ſhould be upbraided with Repetitions tending to diſ-union*; and deſired men might not be permitted to vent their malice under colour of ſhewing their zeale: when, preſently *Tho: Scot*, the Brewers Clerk (he that hath a Tally of every mans faults but his

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own hanging at his Girdle by virtue of his Office, being Deputy-Inquiſitor, or Hang-man to *Miles Corbet*, in the clandeſtine Committee of Examinations, replied upon Mr *Walker*, *That the Gent: that ſpake laſt was not ſo wel-affected, but that the cloſe Committee of Examinations would find cauſe to take an order with him ſhortly*: Maſter *Walker* offered to anſwer him, and demanded the juſtice of the Houſe, but could not be heard: Thoſe that ſpake in behalfe of the Aldermen, were often affronted, and threatned with the diſpleaſure of the Army, which they alleaged, *would be apt to fall into diſtempers if we diſcharged them.* Notwithſtanding theſe menaces, it was Voted, that *the Houſe would not proſecute their Impeachments againſt the ſaid four Aldermen, Sir* John Maynard, *and the ſeven Lords*; *and that they would proceed no farther upon their Order for impeaching Maſter* Hollis, Sir W. Waller, &c. Two or three daies after, a motion was ſet on foot, *That the Order whereby the ſaid Members were diſabled from being of the Houſe might be revoked*; many Zealots argued fiercely, and threatned againſt it; amongſt other arguments for them, a Preſident was inſiſted upon, *That Maſter* Henry Martyn *was by Order diſabled from being a Member, yet was afterwards re-admitted upon his old Election*: and deſired theſe Gentlemen might find equall juſtice. The Houſe having freed them *à Culpa*, could not in equity but free them *à pœna*, and put them in the Remitter of all that belonged to them. But Sir *Peter Wentworth* anſwered, *That* Mr Martyns *caſe and theirs differed*; Mr Martyn *was expelled for words ſpoken againſt the King, ſuch as every mans Conſcience told him were true*; *but becauſe he ſpake thoſe words unſeaſonably, when the King was in good ſtrength, and the words (whether true or falſe) were in ſtrictneſſe of Law, Treaſon*; *the Houſe* (eſpecially the luke-warm men) *conſidering the doubtfull events of war, diſabled and committed him, leſt the whole Houſe might be drawn in compaſſe of High Treaſon for conniving at them*: which was a prudentiall act, contrary to juſtice, and contrary to the ſenſe of the Godly and honeſt party of the Houſe. But afterwards (the King growing weaker, and the Parliament ſtronger) the Houſe reſtored Maſter *Martyn*; and thought fit to ſet every mans tongue at liberty to ſpeak truth even againſt the King Himſelf; and now every day words of a higher nature are ſpoken againſt Him, by the wel-

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affected Godly in the House. After many threats used by *Wentworth, Ven, Harvy, Scott, Gourdon, Weaver, &c.* The said disabling Order was repealed.

93. Members added to the Committee of Safety at *Derby-house.*

About the same time the Lords sent a Message to the Commons, that *they had named six Lords to be added to the Committee of Safety, and desired the House to adde twelve Commons to them.* (This had five or six times been brought down from the Lords before, and received so many denialls, but the Lords would not acquiesce) The Message came downe about one of the Clock, the House being thin, many argued against it, saying, That there were seven Lords and fourteen Commons of that Committee already, enough (if not too many) to dispatch businesses with secresie and expedition; That to adde six Lords more to them was (in effect) to make the whole House of Peers of that Committee; so the whole House of Peers, & twenty six of the ablest and best spoken Commons being ingaged in that Committee, that Committee would sway the Houses which way they pleased; draw, by degrees, all power and authority from the Parliament to themselves; cause the Houses to adjourn at pleasure, or leave them so evirtuated and enervated, that they should no longer keep the dignity nor Authority of a Parliament; contrary to the Trust reposed in them by those that chose them, and contrary to the tenor of the Writ of Election. It were more for the service of the Common-wealth to examine what the powers of that Committee are, and to set a short time for its continuance, and not leave it indefinite as now it is. After more then an howers debate, the Speaker (in stead of putting the question, whether an addition or no?) called to have the names read, first of the Lords, who were Voted, one, by one; and then the Commons were named, who are almost all Independents; *Weaver* excepted against the naming of Major Gen: *Browne*, to be of that Committee, for being disaffected to the Army: to which, Major Gen: *Browne* gave a discreet and an honest Answer: in reply to which, *Weaver* concluded, That the Parliament in the posture it was in, was not likely to save the Kingdome, but the Committee of Safety and the Army must save it: whereupon, satisfaction was demanded against *Weaver* for dishonouring the Parliament, and alleaged, That the Honour of the Parliament was more considerable then the Honour

nour of the Army, and ought to be vindicated before the honour of the Army, whatſoever their Agents and Servants in the Houſe (who gained by them) thought to the contrary, unleſſe they would acknowledge the Parliament to be ſubordinate to the Army. It was farther ſaid, That if the Parliament ſhould relinquiſh the work of ſetling Peace, Religion, Laws, and Liberties in the Kingdome to the Committee of Safety, (as the Gentleman that ſpake laſt ſeems to intimate, that in order thereto, the ſaid Committee is enlarged) the Parliament ſhould forſake their truſt, and be no longer a Parliament, and all they had done, and ſhould doe in that way, (even the erecting, empowring, and enlarging of that Committee) is void in Law: Note, that ſeverall Orders have been made, appointing ſet daies to examine the powers of this Committee, and limit a time for its determination; but alwaies upon the daies appointed either ſome Letters of News, or ſome new invented Plots have been caſt like ſtumbling blocks in the way to put it off.

The like for ſetling the generall Militia of the Counties; all which, are now left, *ſine die.*

Thurſday, 15 *June*, Mr Solicitor reported to the Houſe, That Sir *William Maſſham*, and the reſt of the Committee, were carried up and down in the head of *Goring's* Army, hardly uſed, and threatned to be ſet in the front of the Battle when they came to fight: and moved that 20 of the Kings party ſhould be ſeized, and ſent to the Generall to be uſed in the like manner. But *Gourdon* moved, That the Lady *Capell* and her Children, and the Lady *Norwich* might be ſent to the Generall with the ſame directions, ſaying, *their Huſbands would be carefull of their ſafety:* and when divers oppoſed ſo barbarous a motion, and alleaged, *the Lady* Capell *was great with Child, neer her time. Gourdon* preſſed it the more eagerly: (as if he had taken the Generall for a Man-midwife) he was ſeconded by *Ven*, Sir *Hen: Mildmay*, *Tho: Scott*, *Blackſtone*, *Hill* of Haberdaſhers-hall, *Purefoy*, *Miles Corbet*, &c. Note that *Ruſhworth* (Secretary to the Generall) reported at the Commons Bar, *The Committee were well uſed, and wanted nothing.* And though they have had many Fights and Sallies, they did never put any of the Committee in the Front; ſo that it ſhould ſeem this is onely a fabulous pretence to carry 20 of the Kings party

94. 20 Royaliſts ſent to the Generall in lieu of 10 Committee men in *Colcheſter.*

party in Front before them to facilitate and ſecure their Approaches againſt the Enemies ſhot, which is the more credible, becauſe the ſenſe of the Houſe was, *not to exchange theſe for the Committee.* This is to cheat the Enemy of a Town, not to Conquer it. Behold the Saints way of getting Victories; and *Cromwell* practiſeth the ſame in *Wales*, as I heare.

And that it may farther appear, this Saint-like Army neither Conquers by Miracle, nor the Sword, but by the battery of Angels, I can aſſure you that lately one of the ſetting-bitches of theſe States (as they now call themſelves in their forain negotiations) the *hogen mogens* of *Derby-houſe*. The Lady *Norton* (Wife to bul-headed Sir *Grig.*) offered a large ſum of money to a Gentlewoman to procure her Husband to yeild up a Hold he keeps for the KING; uſing this argument to perſwade it, *That moſt of the good Towns they ſeemed to Conquer were purchaſed of men that had wit enough to reſpect themſelves*, (for you muſt know that this vertuous Lady trucks as well for ſtrong Townes and Forts, as for Plackets and other weaker pieces) but the motion was contemned. And the Generall having gotten together the Trained men of *Suffolke* and *Eſſex* to aſſiſt him, putteth them in the Forlorne Hope in all his ſtormings of the Towne of *Colcheſter*, and drives them on with his Horſe, uſing them as the Turke uſeth his *Aſapi* to dead the firſt fury and edge of the Enemy, that his Janyſaries may at laſt come on with the more ſafety, and carry the buſineſſe.

95. The Nationall Covenant.

Saterday, 17 *June*. It was moved, that no Commiſſions might be granted to any Commanders or Officers, untill they had taken the Nationall Covenant: againſt which, it was argued, That the Covenant was become the pretence of all Rebellions and Inſurrections; that moſt of them that had Rebelled in *Wales*, *Kent*, *Eſſex*, had taken it; but thoſe that refuſed it were true friends to the Parliament, and had done them gallant ſervice. That the Covenant had ſo many various interpretations put upon it, that no man knew what to make of it, or how with a ſafe Conſcience to take it: thus argued the Independents, as if the Covenant were *malum in ſe*. To which was Anſwered, That by this laſt reaſon, they might lay aſide the Scriptures, which were frequently and variouſly miſ-interpreted by Hereticks & Schiſmaticks. If the

Covenant

Covenant in its owne nature were the cauſe of Inſurrections, it was unwiſely done of the Parliament to impoſe it upon men; and to tie them by Vow to defend it, and one another in defence of it, with their lives and fortunes: whatſoever number of Armed men ſhould gather together in defence of the Kings Perſon, Crown and Dignity, or of Religion, Laws, Liberties, or of Priviledges of Parliament, according to the ſaid Covenant, they have the authority of Parliament, nay of Heaven (where their Vow is recorded) for what they doe: and cannot be ſaid to Rebell, or War againſt the Parliament, but againſt a Faction, who having deſerted, or never taken the Covenant, to carry on new deſignes for their own advantage: doe now miſ-apply the Title of *Malignant*, and *Rebell*, to thoſe which fight for the Covenant, becauſe they will not change their principles with them for company. And upon this ground onely were the foure Aldermen, ſeven Lords, Sir *John Maynard*, *&c.* impeached and impriſoned, onely for ſuch actions as the Covenant (which they took by authority of Parliament) bound them in conſcience unto: and for which they had a ſpeciall Ordinance of Parliament made this very Seſſions: and not to raiſe a new War, as was ſcandalouſly and violently enforced upon them: Had it come to a new War, it muſt have been laid at their dores that ſubvert the principles in the Covenant. Many have taken the Covenant in obedience to you, and are bound up by it; and now to leave other men at large not to take it, and accuſe them of *Treaſon* for endeavouring to keep it; is very unjuſt. You have lately promiſed the Scots, *you will adhere to the Covenant*: how can they believe this, unleſſe you injoyne all to take it? And ſo long as you put all the Armes, Garriſons, and Ships of the Kingdome, and all Places of power, profit, and preferment, into the hands of Schiſmaticks and Antimonarchiſts, whoſe principles and actings run counter to the Covenant; and ſuch as talk much of your ſervice, but have done only their own: in order to which, they refuſed to obey you and Disband, raviſhed the King from you at *Holdenby*, kept you in wardſhip ever ſince, and diſhonoured and brought you low with treaſonable, ſcandalous, threatning Engagements, Declarations, Remonſtrances, and other Papers? But thoſe that would have had the Covenant current, could not get the queſtion put.

96. *Osbornes* Information concerning a deſign to murder the King. See [*The Independents loyalty*] a Book ſo called.

Upon Saturday, 17 *June*, 1648. about one of the clock afternoon (moſt of the Houſe being gone to dinner, and very few Presbyterians left) the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons ſtood up and told the Houſe, That he had received Letters from *Richard Oſborne* (he that projected to deliver the KING out of the cuſtody of Colonel *Hammond* at *Cariſbrooke-Caſtle*) that he conceived the Letters tended onely to the ſetting of us all together by the ears; and propounded, Whether they ſhould be read or no? ſome were againſt the reading of them, but the major part called to have them read: which was done accordingly. The Letter to the ſaid Speaker had a Copy of another Letter encloſed in it, to the Lord *Wharton*, which bore date 1 *June*, 1648. to this purpoſe, *Giving his Lordſhip to underſtand, That upon private Conference with Captaine ROLFE (a man very intimate with Colonel* Hammond, *and high in the eſteem of the Army) the ſaid Captain* Rolfe *told him* (the ſaid Osborne) *that to his knowledge* Hammond *had received ſeverall Letters from the Army, adviſing him to remove the* KING *out of the way by Poyſon, or any other means, for it would much conduce to their affaires. But* (ſaid Rolfe) Hammond *hath a good allowance for keeping the* KING, *and is therefore unwilling to loſe ſo beneficiall an imployment. But* (ſaith Rolfe) *if you will joyne with me, we will endevour to convey away the* KING *to ſome ſecret place, and we may then do what we will with Him.* Osborne offers in his ſaid Letter, *That if he may come and go with ſafety, he would come and juſtifie this Relation upon Oath.* He likewiſe writ to the Speaker of the Lords Houſe about it. Then was read *Oſbornes* Letter to Mr *Lenthall* Speaker, dated 10 *June*, 1648. containing the ſame Narration, with an Offer to appear & make it good upon Oath if he might come and go with ſafety and freedome. The Clerk had no ſooner done reading this Letter, but with a ſlight neglect, and the laughter of ſome Members, the buſineſſe was paſſed over without Debate, and Mr *Scawen* ſtood up to propound a new buſineſſe from the Army; when preſently, Mr *Walker* interrupting *Scawen*, deſired to ſpeake a word to the late buſineſſe; and asked Mr Speaker, *from whence that Letter came, and who brought it?* the Speaker called upon the Sergeant of the Mace, who Anſwered, *The Letter was given him at the dore by a man that he knew not; that he had many Letters and*

Papers

Papers thruſt upon him of which he could give no account, but he would endevour to find the Meſſenger. Then Maſter *Walker* urged, that *ſuch an information comming to the Houſe, ought not to be neglected whether true or falſe, but to be examined and ſifted to the bottome. If the* KING *ſhould die a naturall death, or any miſchance befall Him, the people (calling to mind how little care We had taken of His ſafety) would never be ſatisfied with our Proteſtation*; and moved, *that a Committee might be named to examine* Osborne, Rolfe, Hammond, *and ſuch others Whoſe names ſhould occur in the Examination.* This was ſeconded by Sir *Symond Dewes*, Mr. *Henry Hungerford*, Mr. *Edward Stevens*, and ſome others, who preſſed it farther. But received a ſlight Anſwer. *That thoſe that deſired to examine the buſineſſe knew not where to find* Osborne. *That* Osborne *was a Malignant, and had attempted to ſet the* KING *at liberty.* To which Maſter *Walker* replied, *That the other day We had named a Committee to examine the buſineſs concerning the Foot-boy that ſtrook Sir* Henry Mildmay, *and yet We neither knew then, where to find the Foot-boy, or what his name was. If We do but publiſh that* Osborne *ſhall with freedome and ſafety come and go, in caſe he appear to make good his Charge; either he will appear, or We ſhall declare him an Impoſtor, and puniſh him When We take him, and cleer the Reputations of thoſe upon Whom this Letter ſeems to reflect. Conſider how vaſt a difference there is between Beating a Subject, and Killing a King. And if* Osborne *(Whom I know not) be a Malignant, yet unleſſe you can prove him a Nullifidian, or a perſon convict of Perjury, both according to the Rules of Chriſtian Charity, and in the charitable intendment of our Laws, his Oath is valid and good.* Then *Tho: Scott* ſtood up and ſaid, *That this preſſing for a Committee to examine this buſineſſe, Was but a device to draw Col.* Hammond *and* Rolfe *up to Towne to be examined, that the* KING *might the eaſier make an eſcape.* And Sir *John Evelin* of *Wilts*; alleaged, *that he conceived this Was an invention of* Osborns *to bring the* KING *to Town With Honour, Freedome, and Safety.* Then *Walker* ſtood up againe, but was interrupted by Maſter *Hill*, and not ſuffered to ſpeak, having already ſpoken twice. At the end of almoſt every motion made for a Committee to examine the buſineſſe, either Maſter *Scawen* or Major Generall *Skippon* ſtood up and offered to divert the buſineſſe by new matter con-

cerning the Army: which uſually beareth all other buſineſſes down before it. At laſt thoſe few that moved for an Examination of this Information, having ſpoken as oft as the orders of the Houſe do permit, were forced to be ſilent; ſo the buſineſſe was buried in ſilence. I hear that ſome of the Lords called upon this buſineſſe the Monday following, being the 19 of *June*, and that the Lord *Wharton* being asked, *Why he did not impart* Oſbornes *ſaid Letters to the Houſe?* Anſwered, *That as ſoon as he opened the ſaid Letter he received from* Osborne, *and ſaw his name at the bottome, he looked upon the buſineſſe as not conſiderable:* yet he ſent the Letter to *Hammond*. Upon Tueſday, 20 *June*, The Lords ſent a Meſſage to the Commons; the firſt Paper whereof concerned *Oſbornes* ſaid Letters: they deſired *that forty daies might be aſſigned for* Osborne *to come and go with ſafety to make good his Information*. But Sir *William Armyne* ſtood up, and deſired, *That the minutes of two Letters prepared to be ſent into* Holland *and* Zealand *concerning our revolted Ships might be firſt diſpatched, as being of preſent uſe*. And when the buſineſſe was ended, Mr. *Pierpoynte* propounded another part of the ſaid Meſſage. So *Oſborne's* Information was left *ſine die*, for that time; but ſince, the Lords have quickned it, and 40 daies are given to *Oſborne* to come and go with Freedome and Safety to make good his Information; who is come, and avoucheth it; and one *Dowcett*, ſpeaketh much in affirmation of a deſigne of *Rolfe's* to Piſtoll the KING. *Rolfe* preſents himſelf at the Commons Bar, with a Letter from *Hammond*, which denies the Deſigne, and pleads *Rolfes* cauſe for him. *Rolfe* denied it at the Commons Bar with a trembling voice, yet afterwards hid out of the way; but being diſcovered upon ſearch, he was found to have a Byle upon him that diſabled him from riding, otherwiſe (it is thought) he would have fled far enough. I doe not hear that *Hammond* is yet ſent for, or queſtioned. And for *Oſborne's* indeavour to convey His Majeſty from *Cariſbroke-Caſtle*; it is alleaged, he did it with a charitable intent to preſerve His life, and not out of any diſaffection to the Parliament, to which he hath been affectionately ſerviceable. Though many take offence at Maſter *Walker*, as if his ſtirring of this buſineſſe were onely to caſt an aſperſion upon the Army: yet (I conceive) that what he did, was commendable. In diſcharge of the duty he

owes

owes to God, his King, and Country, and of his Truſt as a Member of the Repreſentative body of this Kingdome, and in performance of the obligations which the Oath of Allegiance, the Parliaments Proteſtation, the Nationall Covenant, and the knowne Lawes of the Land lay upon him, which duty he was bound to perform, (though with the extreameſt hazard of his life and fortunes) and though he may happily hope better things of this Army; yet ſince neither the Laws of the Land, nor common reaſon warrants him to preſume upon his owne private hopes and judgment, (things which often deceive the wiſeſt men in matters of far leſſe moment) he could doe no leſſe then free his conſcience, by making the whole Houſe Witneſſes of the cleerneſſe of his actions and intentions. Conſidering,

1. The many high ſpeeches and threats often uſed againſt the King in all places, none excepted.

2. The dangers the King eſcaped from this very Army, which drove him from *Hampton-Court* to the *Iſle of Wight*; and may poſſibly purſue Him thither.

3. The Antimonarchicall principles wherewith many Members of this Army, and their Chaplains, and many elſwhere are ſeaſoned; who cannot govern this Kingdome at their pleaſure by a military Olygarchy of Grandees of the Committee of Safety at *Derby-houſe* and the Army, (and ſo eſtabliſh the kingdome of the Saints) nor yet bring it to their owne *levell*; but by taking off *ſumma papaverum capita*, all that is high and eminent. There is a Crowned Head in their way which muſt be removed.

4. The corrupted fantaſies of many Antimonarchicall Sciſmaticks with Revelations and Raptures, who ſerve the Devill for Gods ſake; making him the Authour, and the doing of his will the pretence of all their crimes and villanies.

5. The many deſperate, guilty perſons that feare Peace; and are reſolved, now the Sword is out, to burn the Scabbard. Theſe look upon the King with an evill eye, as the Centre in whom all Intereſts muſt unite before we can have peace. Deſpaire tempts theſe men to make one ſin a degree and ſtep to a higher. Theſe three laſt ſort of men having caſt off all feare of God, will as eaſily contemne Gods ſubſtitute, the King; as he that caſts off all reverence to the King, will contemn his ſubſtitute, a Conſtable.

6. The

6. The continuall endeavours of the Grandees of *Derby-houſe* and the Army, to put all the Armes, Garriſons, Ships, and ſtrengths of the Kingdome into the hands of Antimonarchicall, ſchiſmaticall Independents: in order to which, they are raiſing of new Forces, and erecting new Garriſons in moſt Counties. Theſe men when they could not get a power from the Houſe of Commons to raiſe what Forces they pleaſed, (for when it was moved, they there ordered, *that no more motions ſhould be made for raiſing new Forces, but between the houres of ten and twelve*) yet what they could not get by their leave, they now take without their leave: The Generall granting Commiſſions for raiſing and liſting Horſe and Foot in almoſt all Counties; for example, Sir *Hardres Waller* (that one-eyed *Polyphemus* of paſteboard) lately ſent forth Commiſſions in the County of *Devon:* (by vertue (as his Commiſſions ſay) of the power granted him from his Excellency) for raiſing, liſting, and training Horſe and Foot, which ſhall be no burden to the County, but be in pay with the reſt of the Army. In theſe Commiſſions he ſtileth himſelfe *(untruly) Commander in chiefe of all the Forces of the five Weſtern Aſſociate Counties:* and gave authority and encouragement to the wel-affected (that is, to Independents, Sectaries, Antimonarchiſts, and the more deſperate, forlorn ſort of people) to enter into, and ſubſcribe Engagements *to live and die with the Army* (an imitation of the Members Engagement) *in defence of the Parliament,* (that is, of the ingaged faction of Independents, Schiſmaticks, and corrupt perſons, whom onely the Army looks upon as the Parliament) witneſſe the Declaration of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and his Councell of War, ſhewing the grounds of their advance to *London.* This uſurpation was complained of in the Houſe of Commons, Monday 19 *June,* and prohibited then by Order.

7. Peradventure the reaſon why this Letter was publiſhed ſo unſeaſonably in a thin Houſe, in ſo ſlight and ſurreptitious a way (as aforeſaid) was, in hope it would have been paſſed over in ſilence (as it had like to have been) and ſo the whole Houſe ſhould have been engaged in the crime (if any ſuch thing be intended) as *guilty of connivance and negligence*; though *not as Actors guilty of the fact.* The main ſcope of this Party hath ever been, *by Treaties of Accommodation, uniting all Intereſts,* and other devices; to involve

volve others in their crimes, to infect others with their diſeaſes: that all ſtanding in need of one and the ſame deſperate way of cure, may joyntly have the ſame friends and foes, and the ſame ſins and quarrels to defend.

8. Friday, 16 *June*, 1648. I was told, the Committe of *Derby houſe* had lately received a Letter from Col. *Hammond*, Governour of *Cariſbrooke-Caſtle*, informing them, *That unleſſe they ſupplied him with Mony and Men, he could give no good account of the* KING, *in caſe the revolted Ships ſhould attempt His reſcue*: and farther, *That he had matters of great importance to communicate to them, but durſt not commit them to Paper; but if they would ſend for him up, or ſend a Confident of theirs to him, he would impart them.* This may probably be the buſineſſe whereof *Oſborne* gives information in his ſaid Letters: and it may be Mr *Walker* had heard of this report in the Hall as well as my ſelf; and might have the ſame conceit of it, that I have; If it be lawfull for me to take meaſure of another mans judgment by my owne.

9. Laſtly, who knows whether a powerfull, deſperate party, may not have a deſigne to take away the *Kings life*, and then declare his ſecond eldeſt Sons uncapable of Government; ſuppoſing they deſerted the Kingdom, and invited forain States to invade it: and then Crown the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and ſo (abuſing his tender years) uſurp the protection of him, and under colour of that authority eſtabliſh (by degrees) their own uſurpation, and the peoples ſlavery: having ſubdued their ſpirits by a long and cuſtomary bondage, under them; and having filled all Places of power, profit, and preferment in the Kingdome with men of their own principles and Intereſts; their owne creatures and Confidents? This Army (laſt *April*) in their Councell (amongſt other things) debated, *The Depoſing of the* KING, (why not murdering as well, ſince few Kings are depoſed and not murdered) *Diſinheriting the* PRINCE, *and Crowning the* DUKE *of* Yorke: which was then approved of by *Cromwell* and *Ireton*. Why may they not now diſ-inherit both the elder Sons and Crowne the Duke of *Glouceſter* as well? See the excellent *Remonſtrance* of the *Colcheſter* Knights and Gentlemen, 1648. which I have printed herewith for your ſatisfaction. That ſome ſuch deſigne might be to make away the KING, and diſ-inherit the Prince,

may well be ſuſpected; becauſe the 12 day of *July*, upon information, *that the Prince had ſent into* England *ſome Blank Commiſſions to Liſt men: Weaver* (an Implement of the Army, and Son to an Ale-houſe-keeper in *Wiltſh.*) moved the Houſe of Commons *to Vote the Prince a Traytor, &c.* And (I hear) *That* Mr Solicitor (contrary to his Oath and duty of his place) *refuſeth to be of Councell againſt the ſaid* Rolfe; this Gentleman the Solicitor hath got above 3000*col.* by keeping open ſhop to ſell the cruell mercies of the new Great Seale to the Royaliſts.

97. *Trinity-houſe* Petition for a Perſonall Treaty.

The 29 *June*. A Petition was delivered the Houſe of Commons from the Maſters of *Trinity-houſe*, Maſters and Captains of Ships, and Sea-men, *for a Perſonall Treaty with the* KING; declaring *the great decay of Trade, to the undoing of many thouſand Families, and that they would not fight againſt the revolted Ships, their Brethren; who deſired but the ſame things with them. Tho: Scott* ſaid, *That the* Surry-men *firſt delivered a Petition for a Perſonall Treaty, which was ſeconded by the* Kentiſh men *in Armes, and they by the City of* London: *that all this was a deſigne to ruine the Godly party. That he had read of a man, who being asked when he was young, Why he did not Marry? Anſwered, It was too ſoon: and being asked the ſame queſtion when he was old, Anſwered, It was too late. So he was of opinion, there could be no time ſeaſonable for a Perſonall Treaty, or a Peace with ſo perfidious and implacable a Prince; but it would alwaies be too ſoon, or too late. He that draws his Sword upon his King, muſt throw his Scabbard into the fire. All peace with Him will prove the ſpoile of the Godly.* To which was Anſwered, *That ſome men got well by fiſhing in troubled Waters; and accounted peace their ſpoile, becauſe War was their gaine: and they looked upon a Perſonall Treaty as a deſigne againſt them* (under the notion of the Godly, Honeſt, Confiding party) *becauſe a Perſonall Treaty was the high way to peace. But the generality of the people* (who were diſpoiled of their Eſtates by the war) *reſolved upon a Perſonall Treaty, without which there is no hope of peace; they would no longer be made fuell to that fire Wherein theſe Salamanders live; nor any longer feed thoſe Horſe-leeches,* (the Army, their engaged party and Servants) *with their bloud and marrow.* It now appears who deſire a new War; namely, thoſe Zealots, who ſupply their indigent fortunes by War. Theſe men fear peace, doubting they

ſhall

ſhall be forced to diſgorge what they have ſwallowed in time of war: *Ven, Miles Corbet, Hill* the petty Lawyer of Haberdaſhers-hall, the two *Aſhes*, Col. *Harvey*, and many other thriving Saints, oppoſed a *Perſonall Treaty*; ſo their Petition had no ſucceſſe. I hear that (not many daies after) the Committee of *Derby-houſe* (to take off this affront) imployed Col. *Rainſborough* (the *quondam Neptune* of our Seas) to go up and down and ſolicite the common ſort of Marriners to *ſubſcribe*, and preſent the Houſe of Commons with a counter-Petition, wherein *they offered to live and die with the Parliament, &c.* and that *Rainſborough* gave 12d. apiece to as many as ſubſcribed it. This Petition was delivered.

98. The City Petitions for a Perſonall Treaty.

The 2 of *July*, and after that (upon occaſion of the City Petition *for a Perſonall Treaty in* LONDON) upon the 5 *July*, the Houſe of Commons againe tooke into debate a *Perſonall Treaty*. They ſpent much time upon the place, where?

1. *Whether in the* Iſle of Wight? which the Independents principally affected.

2. *Holdenby?* which they next inclined unto.

3. *Or any of His Houſes not neerer then* 10 *miles of* London: *at His own choice?*

4. *Or in the City of* London?

Which two laſt places the Presbyterians approved of, but chiefly *London*: for *London*, it was argued, *That the Common Councell and Officers of the Souldiery would undertake for His Safety againſt all Tumults. In any other place He would be within the power of the Army; who might probably take Him away again (as they did at* Holdenby) *if they liked not the manner and matter of the Treaty.* London *was a place of moſt Honour, Safety, and Freedome; and would beſt ſatisfie the* KING, *the* Scots, *the people: In all other places (eſpecially the* Iſle of Wight) *He would be ſtill a Priſoner to the Army; and therefore all He ſhould agree to, would be void by reaſon of* Dures. Sergeant *Wylde* Anſwered, *That* Cuſtodia *did not alwaies in Law ſignifie* Impriſonment. *Though He was under Reſtraint of the Army He was not in Priſon*; making a wyld kind of (nonſence) difference between *Reſtraint* and *Legall Impriſonment*, (which all but himſelf laughed at) *The King cannot plead* Dures; *no man can Impriſon or hurt the King in His politique capacity as King: though in His naturall capacity, as man, he is as*

passive as other men. To which was replied, *That it had been frequently said in the House, the* KING *was a Prisoner. That there was no difference in Law between a Restraint, and an Imprisonment; whether legall, or illegall. A tortious Restraint is called in Law, a* false Imprisonment. *That former Kings have avoided their owne Acts by pleading* Restraint (*or Imprisonment*) *and* Constraint, *as* R. 2. H. 3. *That the King may as well plead* Imprisonment, *as the Parliament plead a* Force: which they have lately done. That the King's Restraint in law is *Arcta custodia*; God grant it be *salva custodia:* we have lately had Information to the contrary. The distinction between the Kings *naturall* and *politique capacity* was Treason in the *Spencers*, and so declared by 2 Acts of Parl. in the time of *Edw.* 2. and *Edw.* 3. See *Calvins* Case in my L. *Coke*, they are inseparable by the Law. *Tho: Scott* argued, *that the City was as obnoxious to the King's anger as any part of the Kingdome: and if the Treaty should be in* London, *who shall secure us? That the City will not make their peace with the inraged King by delivering up our Heads to Him for a sacrifice, as the men of* Samaria *did the heads of the* 70 *Sons of* Ahab. It was farther moved, *That if the King came not to* London, *but to one of His Houses about* 10 *miles from* London, *That He might be desired to give His Royall Word to reside there untill the conclusion of the Treaty.* Col. *Harvy* slighted this motion, vilifying the Kings Royall word, and saying, *There was no trust in Princes:* he alleaged, *the King's promises had been frequently broken; as when he protested. the Safety and Priviledges of Parliament should be as pretious to Him as the Safety of his Wife and Children, and within three or foure daies after came with armed Guards to force the House*, and other instances which have been too often remembred, and shall be here omitted.

At last they fell upon a Report, that the Committee of Lords & Commons had voted, *They would not insist upon the* 3 *Votes preparatory to a Treaty*, viz. *Presbytery, the Militia, and recalling all Declar: Proclam: &c.* This was long argued to and fro. At last it was Voted, *That the King be desired to assent to the said* 3 *preparatory Propositions, and signe them with His Hand, to be passed as Acts of Parliament when the King shall come to* Westminster.

99 My Lord *Say's* discourse about a Personall Treaty

My Lord of *Warwicke* had moved in the Lords House about this time *for a Personall Treaty*, and was seconded by the Earl of *Northumberland.*

Northumberland; but my Lord *Say* oppoſed it, and prevailed againſt it: afterwards my Lord *Say* in his way home viſited the Duke of *Richmond*, and amongſt other diſcourſe, told the Duke, *He was ſorry to find ſo great an indiſpoſition to peace*, ſaying, *he had moved for a Perſonall Treaty, but could not prevaile*: this was done upon hopes the Duke would have writ ſo much to the Queen or Prince. But the Earle of *Holland* comming that day to ſee the Duke, and the Duke relating to the Earle what the Lord *Say* had told him; the Earle of *Holland* diſcovered the truth to him, and ſo ſpoiled the deſigne: you ſee the Devill doth not alwaies own the endeavours of his ſervants.

100. The Newes of the D. of *Buck:* taking Armes.

The ſaid 5 *July*, The Speaker as ſoon as he ſate in his Chair, alarmed the Houſe of Commons with the news of the Duke of *Buckingham's*, and Earle of *Holland's* drawing into a hoſtile poſture; relating *they were* 2000. *that they intended to take* Lambeth-houſe, *that the Bullets would preſently be about their ears if they did not riſe*: which put the Zealots into ſuch a rout, that they preſently cried, *Adjourne, adjourne, untill Munday*: and had hardly ſo much patience as to hear any reaſons to the contrary; but this was but a counterfeit feare: The deſigne hid under it was, to prevent the City from bringing in that day their Petition *for a Perſonall Treaty*, and to leave the whole power of the Houſe, during the Adjournment, to the Committee of *Derby houſe*, to raiſe what Horſe and Foot they pleaſed, under colour of ſuppreſſing this Inſurrection.

101. *Skippon* authorized to raiſe 1000. Horſe.

For when they found they could not prevaile to Adjourne, they moved for power to be given to Major Generall *Skippon* to raiſe Horſe, whether to poſſeſſe the Avenues and paſſages from the City to the Earl of *Holland's* Army, or to keep the City under the terror of a Horſe Guard, is doubtfull.

102. A Report from *Derby houſe*, That the Members ſhould underwrite for maintaining of Horſe.

And the ſame day Maſter *Swynfen* reported from the Committee of Safety, *That they offered to the conſideration of that Houſe, that it was fit the Houſes ſhould have a Horſe Guard, and that every Member ſhould underwrite how many Horſe he will pay for* 10 *daies.*

This is refuſed by ſome Gentlemen upon theſe grounds:

1. *It bears the aſpect of an Impoſition or Tax ſet upon the Houſe by their Committee.*

2. *The Members have not ſuffered alike; and therefore cannot*

doe a like, ſome have loſt much and got nothing; others have got much and loſt nothing: and it is not equall that Loſers ſhould bear equall burdens with Getters, and contribute out of their Loſſes to maintaine other mens Gaines, and preſerve them in their rich Offices, and Biſhops Lands purchaſed for little or nothing. Gentlemen are made Beggers, and Beggers Gentlemen.

3. *It is adividing motion: tending to lay an imputation of Malignancy and diſ-affection upon thoſe that cannot, as well as thoſe that will not, ſubſcribe: and ſo gives a great advantage to the Gayners over the Loſers*; which the Loſers have no reaſon to ſubmit to.

4. *A Perſonall Treaty being now in debate: this motion makes many Members forbeare the Houſe, who cannot grant, and dare not deny: It carries with it therefore ſomething of deſigne and terror, and ſo takes away the Liberty of Parliament, which when ſo weighty a buſineſſe is handling ought to be.*

5. *If this Horſe Guard be raiſed, how ſhall We aſſure our ſelves they ſhall be Diſbanded after* 10 *daies, being once under Command?* It is therefore a ſubtile, malitious, tyrannous act, for the Committee of Safety to put ſo tempting a motion upon the Houſe, and give men cauſe to ſuſpect that ſomething of Deſigne and Danger lies hid under it.

103. The device of a forged Letter

About this time, a Letter without any Name ſubſcribed, was left at Major Generall *Browne's* houſe, in his abſence: conſiſting of two parts:

1. *A Preamble, of great reſpect and love borne to him by the Epiſtoler for his faire carriage to the King, and good affection to peace and reconcilement with the King.*

2. *An Admonition, to look to himſelf, and moderate his actions; the Army looking upon him as their onely Enemy and Opponent in the City, leſt they ſhould ſeize upon him and carry him away, or doe him ſome other miſchief.* This is conceived to be an Independent Mouſe-trap ſet up to catch a Presbyterian in; for if the Major Generall had not diſcovered the ſaid Letter, and it had been found about him, or in his houſe; or if it had been teſtified that ſuch a Letter was left at his houſe and concealed: here had been matter enough for an Impeachment againſt him.

104. Correſpondency with Car. *Mazerini.*

The Grandees of *Derby-houſe* and the Army ſolicite the detaining of the PRINCE in *France*, and the delaying of his journey

journey for *England*, leſt he trouble the yet unſetled kingdome of the Saints. To negotiate which, they have an Agent lying lieger with Cardinall *Mazerini* (the great French Inſtrument of State) who is ſo well ſupplied with Money and ſo open-handed, That it hath been heard from *Mazerini's* own mouth, *That all the Money the* QUEEN *and* PRINCE *hath coſt the Crown of* France, *hath come out of the Parliaments Purſe with a good advantage.* It is likewiſe ſaid, *Mazerini hath an Agent here, to drive on the Intereſts of* France *in* England.

105. *Dolman's* Anti-monarchicall Book printed.

The Grandees (in reference to the pulling down of Monarchy, and the eſtabliſhing their Olygarchy or Tyranny (contrary to their Remonſtrances, Declarations, the Nationall Covenant, and their late Vote, *That they would not alter the auntient forme of Government by King, Lords and Commons*) have cauſed the Book written by *Parſons* the Jeſuit, 1524. (under the feined Name of *Doleman*) and called [*A Conference about the Succeſſion of the Crown* to be publiſhed, under the Title of [*Severall Speeches delivered at a Conference, concerning the power of Parliaments, to proceed againſt their Kings for Miſ-government.*] *Parſons* had made this Book a *Dialogue*, theſe men have made it into *Speeches*. The Arguments and Preſidents are meerly the ſame; you ſee they can joyne Intereſts with *France*: Doctrine with the Jeſuits to carry on their deſigne, and reduce us to the condition of French Peaſants or Slaves, under the kingdome of the Saints. *Doleman's* Book was condemned by Act of Parliament, 35 *Eliz.* But what care the Grandees for Acts of Parliament, having fooled the people into a belief, That both the *Legiſlative* and *Judicative* power is in the two Houſes of Parliament without the King, and that an *over-powring party or Junto in the two Houſes* (complying with an Army to keep the reſt under force and awe) *is the Parliament.*

See the Concluſions, 15, 16, 17.

106. The Legiſlative, Iudicative power, and the Militia, where they reſide. See the Concluſions, 15, 16, 17.

The Parliament conſiſteth of 3 *Eſtates:*

1. The *King:* whom the Law calleth, *Principium, Caput & finis Parliamenti:* and therefore He onely can *Call*, He onely can *Diſſolve* a Parliament; and is Himſelf called and choſen by none, being *Primus motor*, that animates all.

2. The *Lords:* who have their creation and vocation onely from the Kings bounty.

3. The

3. The *Commons:* who have their *summons* onely from the Kings Writ, though their *election* from the people: and in that respect only (the people being too diffused a Body to be Assembled) they have something of *Representation* in them; being the Epitome of the people. These 3 *Estates* concurring, have power to *make new Lawes*. To *change or repeale old Lawes*: and in some *doubtfull cases, rarely hapning* (which the Judges dare not venture upon) they have power to *interpret the Lawes*. This is a wise and politique constitution, for *if any one, or any two of the said three Estates* should make new Lawes, change, Repeal or Interpret old Laws, arbitrarily and at pleasure, *without mutuall agreement of all the three Estates*, it were in the power of *that one or two to enslave the other Estate or Estates so omitted*. Besides, the Law doth not favour the making of new Laws, nor the changing and repealing of old Laws, being an innovation that stirs too many humours in a Body politique, and indangers its health, and brings contempt upon the Laws: *Leges priusquam latæ sunt perpendendæ, quando latæ, sunt obediendæ*, saith *Arist. Pol.* But *though all 3 Estates must assent to the making, altering, or repealing a Law, yet any one of the 3 Estates hath a Negative Voice*, and may dissent from such making, altering, or repealing, to avoid innovation, as abovesaid.

2 H. 5. 4 H. 7. c. 18. 12 H. 7. c. 20. 1 Ia. c. 1. 2 Ch. c. 1.

How then can the two Houses of Parliament exercise the Legislative power, and make, change, or repeal any Law by Ordinance without the King, (the first Estate and Head of the Parliament) and so deprive Him of His Negative Voice, and the people of their Laws, Liberties, and Estaes, contrary to the *9 H. 3. Magna Charta. 1 part Instit. sect. 234. in fine. 7 H. 7. 14.* especially when this very Parliament declares in the *Exact Coll. 1 part. p. 727. That the King hath a Negative Voice, and that Bils are not Lawes* (or Acts of Parliament) *without the Kings assent* (consequently nor Ordinances.) And as the two Houses take upon them the *Legislative power* without the King: so in the case of the 4 Aldermen and Sir *John Maynard*, they usurped a *Judicative power* in case of Treason triable in the Kings Bench: yet it is most certaine, that when the *3 Estates in Parliament have passed any Act, their power determines as to that Act, and then the Anthority of the Judges begins*, which is Judicative: whose office is (upon cases brought before them) to determine *whether that Act be binding or no:* (for

Acts

Acts of Parliament *againſt common right, Repugnant, or Impoſſible,* are void, *Coke* 8. *f.* 118. Dr and Student, *l.* 1. *c.* 6.) *and to expound the meaning and ſignification of the words of ſuch Act.* If therefore the two Houſes uſurp the *Legiſlative* and *Judicative* power, or the *Militia,* otherwiſe then hath been by the fundamentall conſtitution of this Monarchy, and the practice of all ages accuſtomed; the Grandees of the two Houſes and Army ſeem to lay claim to them all by the Sword; for in the late Declaration againſt the Scots Papers, *p.* 64. they ſay, *That they engaged in this War upon theſe principles,* viz. *To have the Legiſlative power, and the exerciſe of the Militia, without, and againſt the* KING'S *conſent*; and *p.* 63. *ibidem,* the Members tell us, *That in all matters concerning Church, or State, we have no Judge upon earth, but themſelves.* It followes then, the Grandees doe it to ſubvert the auntient Government, Lawes, and Liberties of this Nation; and eſtabliſh a Military Olygarchy, or the kingdome of the Saints over us in themſelves. In order to which deſigne, they have put all things out of order, and turned them upſide down; nay, they have Crucified the whole Kingdome with Saint *Peters* Crucifixion, the Head downwards and the Heeles upwards.

When this King went into *Scotland,* He compared the Common-wealth to a Watch, which they had taken in pieces; and adviſed them to keep every piece and pin ſafe, and put all in their right places again: but now all the principall pieces are either broken or loſt. God grant them to number their howers better hereafter, and to cloſe well with our Maſter Work-man; for though this Kingdome hath alwaies been *Ruled by King, Lords,* and *Commons*; yet by the KING *architectonicè*; and by the *other* TWO, *organicè*: the King as the Architect, the Lords and Commons as His Inſtruments; each in his proper ſphere of activity, without interfering: and till this again come in uſe, look for no peace.

The Independent Grandees of the Parliament and Army are much offended with the City, and their Adherents, in petitioning for a Perſonall Treaty with the KING: and give out, *That when they have done with* Colcheſter, *they will humble the City, and bring it to better obedience*: for which purpoſe, they have already taken all the *Block-houſes* upon the River, Eaſt of the City; *Windſor-*

107. The Armies Aſpect upon the City; and Perſonall Treaty.

Caſtle Weſt of the City; and are now fortifying *Gyddy-hall* neer *Rumford* in *Eſſex* South from the City; the like they intend at *Hampton-Court*; and to build a Fort upon the *Iſle of Dogs*, to keep under the Sea-men: whereby, poſſeſſing the principall waies, and Avenues to the City; they ſhall neither feed, nor Trade, but at the diſcretion of the Army. In the mean time the Cities deſires of a Perſonall Treaty are delaied and made fruſtrate by a tedious Conference between a Committee of Parliament, and a Committee of the Common Councell. And Counter-Petitions againſt a Perſonall Treaty are ſent about by Alderman *Gybs*, *Foukes*, *Eſtwicke*, *Woollaſton*, *Andrews*, *Nye* the Independent Prieſt, and others, (who hold rich Offices by favour of the Grandees) to be ſubſcribed, even by Apprentice Boyes; whereby it appears, the Independents have no intent to make peace with the King; but to engage in a new Warre, thereby to continue their Army, and our Slavery.

The yearly Income they raiſe upon the people under colour of this War (beſides the Kings Revenue, Sequeſtrations, and Compoſitions) amounts to three Millions ſterling *per annum*, being ſix times as much as ever the moſt greedy and burdenſome of our Kings raiſed: where our Stewards hide theſe our Talents (publique Debts and Arrears being unpaid) were worth finding out, if any but the Devill could give an Account thereof. But this is an unſoundable Gulfe, here my plumb-line faileth me.

108. M.G. *Skippon's* Complaint.

The 10 of *July*, Major Generall *Skippon* complained in the Houſe of Commons of a printed Paper, called, [*A motive to all loyall Subjects, to endeavour the preſervation of His Majeſties Perſon*] wherein (he pretended) he was falſly and ſcandalouſly ſlandred for ſpeaking ſome words in the Houſe to divert the Examination of Mr *Oſborne's* Charge againſt *Rolfe*. The Houſe (that is, the Independents) were as diligent to become his Compurgators, and vindicate his credit, by paſſing and printing 5 Votes for him, as they had formerly been to ruine the KING's Honour by paſſing a Declaration againſt Him. This fellow *Skippon* was heretofore Waggoner in the *Low-Countries* to Sir *Francis Vere*; after that, came over into *England* a poor forlorne Commander, and obtained of the King His Letters of Commendation to keep a kind of Fencing Schoole in the City *Military yard*, and teach the

the Citizens the poſtures of the Pike and Muſket, and Train them; where he wore the maske of Religion ſo handſomly, that he ſoon inſinuated into their favours, and found them very bountifull Patrons to him; there he got his fat belly, and full purſe; from the City he became Major Generall to the new modelled Army: and obſerving ſome diſcontents ariſing between the City and Army, and being willing to keep two ſtrings to his bow; that he might uphold his credit with the City, he voluntarily ſubmitted himſelf to ſome affronts purpoſely and politickly put upon him in the Army; and yet that the Army might underſtand him to be their creature, he marched with the Army in their Triumph through the City, ſtill carrying himſelf as a moderate reconciling man, and ſweetning the inſolencies of the Army by making milde and faire interpretations of their actions; yet ſtill ſo much magnified the power of the Army, as if he would perſwade the City they were beholding to the Army for making no worſe uſe of their ſtrength againſt them: Thus (as many other moderate, prudentiall men doe) he lay a good while un-diſcried in the boſome of the City, and there as a Spie and Intelligencer kept Centry for the Army, untill ſuch time as the City petitioning the Commons for *reſtoring of their own Militia to them again*: the Councel of the Army (to mock them with an uneffectuall *Militia*) by their engaged party in the Houſe, and the Committee of *Derby-houſe* (of which Caball *Skippon* is one) cauſed their confiding man *Skippon*, not only to be named of the Committee of the *Militia* (although no Citizen) but to be obtruded upon the City as their *Major Generall, Commander in chief of all their Forces*, without whom nothing is to be acted. This being reſented and oppoſed, as contrary to the Cities Charter and Liberties, *Skippon* found he was diſcovered, and then (taking advantage of the Earle of *Holland's* going forth into Armes) upon a Report from the Committee of *Derby-houſe*, the Commons ordered, *That a Party of Horſe ſhould be raiſed and liſted under Skippon: Skippon* by vertue of this Order granted Commiſſions to divers ſchiſmaticall Apprentices to raiſe men underhand, and authorized the ſaid Commiſſioned Apprentices to grant Sub-commiſſions again to other Apprentices under them for the like purpoſe: This was pretended to prevent Tumults and Inſurrections, but indeed it was to

joyne with the Independent party of the City, and the Army, (when they have done their worke at *Colcheſter*) in purging the Presbyterians out of the Common Councell and Parliament; in reference whereto, the Army have reſolved not to march Northwards againſt the *Scots*, until they have brought this City to more abſolute obedience, or laid it in the duſt, according to *Cromwell's* advice: As a preparative to which deſigne, the prevailing party in the Houſe, *July* 15. (hand over head) Voted, *All ſuch* Scots *as are come into* England *in Hoſtile manner, without conſent of both Houſes of Parliament of* England, *Enemies to the State; and all ſuch* Engliſh *as doe or ſhall adhere to, ayde, or aſſiſt them, Traytors:* and the day next following, *Weaver* openly in the Houſe affirmed, *That the Scotiſh deſigne of D.*Hamilton, *the* Colcheſter *deſigne, and that of the Earle of* Holland *were all begun, and carried on in the City of London:* to which *Ven*, the two *Aſhes, Harvey, Scott, Miles Corbet, Blackſton*, Sir *Peter Wentworth*, and others gave applauſe: loe here a foundation laid for a new Charge againſt the City when the Army are at leiſure to make uſe of it. This Hypocrite *Skippon* when he hath ſpoken any thing in the Houſe prejudiciall to the King or City, about a Week after (when the venome he hath ſpet hath wrought its effect, and is paſt remedy) uſually complaines in the Houſe, *That his Words are carried forth of the Houſe, and malitiouſly and falſly reported in the City to his diſgrace and danger*, and repeating in a milder & more qualified way ſome part of what he had formerly ſaid, appealeth to the Houſe, *Whether that were not the full truth of his Words?* when the Houſe having forgotten his former words, no man can, and (for fear of the envy and malice of a powerfull Faction) no man will contradict him; this is his way of Apologyzing and cleering himſelf. He hath got above 30000l. into his purſe, beſides 1000l. a yeare land of Inheritance given him by the Parliament. He hath ſecured his perſonall eſtate beyond Sea, and his Wife and Children, and thereby withdrawne all pawnes and pledges of his fidelity both out of the power of the Parliament and City, and is here amongſt us but in the nature of a *Souldier of fortune*.

Yet they knew they came in by Authority of the Parliament of *Scotland*.

109. D. *Hamilton's* Army voted Enemies.

Note that upon the ſaid 15 day of *July*, when the debate was *for voting the* Scots *that were come in, Enemies, &c.* The firſt queſtion was put, *That all ſuch* Scots *as are, or ſhall come into* England,

as

in Hoſtile manner without conſent of both Houſes of the Parliament of England, *were Enemies, &c.* but upon farther debate, the words *(or ſhall)* were left out, upon this conſideration, *That the Earle of* Argyle *might happily come into* England *with a Party, and fall upon Duke* Hamilton *in the reare to divert him.*

110. D. *Hamilton's* Letter and Declaration brought to the Houſe.

July the 20. the Speaker told the Commons, *That Major Generall* Lambert *had made ſtay of a Scotiſh Gentleman, one Mr* Haly-barton *who paſſed through his Quarters with Letters from D.* Hamilton, *to the two Houſes, and the King; That he found about Maſter* Haly-barton *divers private Letters, for the carrying of which, he had no publique Authority, and therefore* Lambert *made bold to Seale thoſe private Letters in a Packet by themſelves with his owne Seale and Maſter* Haly-bartons: *That* Lambert *had ſent up Maſter* Haly-barton *with one Lieut. Col.* Osborne *a godly Scotiſh Gent: and another Keeper, in nature of a Priſoner.* This *Oſborne* delivered that private Packet to the Speaker: ſo a Committee was named to peruſe that private Packet, and *Oſborne* was called in to ſpeak what he knew; who delivered at the Bar, *That the Godly party in* Scotland *were oppreſſed and trodden under foot by Duke* Hamilton's *party, that their very Soules were afflicted at his proceedings, that the Kirke of* Scotland *with one mouth proclaimed to their faces their Engagement and proceedings thereupon to be damnable and deſtructive: he deſired the Houſe not to looke upon theſe proceedings as the Act of the Nation of* Scotland, *ſince there were a great many Godly men who hoped the Lord would enable them in his good time to March into* England *with the Marqueſſe of* Argyle *and fall into the reare of Duke* Hamilton *with a diverſion.* He reported, *the* Scots *that came in to be but* 8000 *Horſe and Foot, and* Langdale *but* 2000. Then was read the Letters of Duke *Hamilton,* wherein *He complaineth no Anſwer had been given to the Parliament of* Scotlands *juſt deſires of the* 26 April *laſt, That by authority of the Scotiſh Parliament he was neceſſitated to come into* England *according to the Covenant, and not without the invitation of divers well affected Engliſh who had taken the Covenant.* There was a *Declaration* enclоſed in the Letters which the prevailing party obſtructed the reading of (yet the Lords having printed it, they have ſince read it in the Houſe) and preſently the queſtion was put, *That all ſuch Engliſh as have invited the Scots under Duke* Hamilton *to come in Hoſtile manner into*

111. L. Col. *Osborne* a fugitive Scot.

England *ſhould be declared Traytors?* and carried in the Affirmative. I formerly told you that about 12 *July*, *Weaver* moved, *That the Prince of* Wales *might be voted a Traytor:* what they could not then carry with a fore-wind, they now brought in again with a ſide-wind; for who doubts but the Prince invited in the Scots to the relief of his Father and himſelf oppreſſed and impriſoned, contrary to the ſolemn League and Covenant, by a Rebellious Army, and a ſchiſmaticall party of both Houſes engaged with the ſaid Army: *And that the Scots are come in according to the Covenant only?*

112. A motion in the Houſe of Commons to Bayle *Rolfe.*

A little before this time *Tho: Scott*, Sir *P. Wentworth*, *Blackſton*, C. *Harvy*, *Hill* the Lawyer, & others, preſſed the Houſe with much earneſtneſſe *to Bayle* Rolfe, *committed Priſoner to the* Gate-houſe *upon the Complaint of Mr* Osborne, *for endeavouring to make away the* KING: uſing many words in his commendation for *his Godlyneſſe, and Faithfulneſſe*, and complaining of *his hard uſage in Priſon* where he lay *amongſt Rogues*. It was oppoſed by many, becauſe *High Treaſon is not Baylable by the Law*, neither *is the Houſe of Commons a Court of Judicature*; and therefore can *neither Impriſon, nor Bayle any* but their *owne Members*. At laſt Mr *Sam: Browne* moved, *That a Committee might examine the buſineſſe for matter of Fact, and report to the Houſe, and then the Houſe (if they ſaw cauſe) might Bayle him; and bind over Maſter* Osborne *to proſecute him next Terme in the* Kings Bench. This motion tooke effect, and great care was taken for the preſent, that *Rolfe* might have better entertainment in the *Gate-houſe*, according to his quality; having been not long ſince a *Shoo-maker*, one of the *Gentle-craft*.

113. The Speakers Warrant to ſearch for the Foot-boy that beat Sir *Henry Mildmay.*

About this time, 2 Files of Musketiers, by warrant from the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, came in the dead of the night to the houſes of Sir *Paul Pyndor*, and Alderman *Langham*, pretending to ſearch for the *Foot-boy* that beat Sir *Hen. Mildmay*. They forced open the dores of Sir *Pauls* houſe, and ſearched with great diligence; but could not doe the like at Alderman *Langham's*, who being guilty of having ſome Money in his houſe, durſt not adventure to obey the Warrant and open his dores: nor had he reaſon to do it, his Houſe (by the Law) being *his Caſtle of defence, the priviledge thereof not to be violated but in caſe of Felony or Treaſon.*

Treaſon. Compare the diligent proſecutions in the behalfe of Sir *Harry Mildmay*, with the ſlack and negligent proceedings in the behalf of the KING, and you will find a new practicall Law, (contrary to the old known eſtabliſhed Law) *That a Treſpaſſe againſt a Grandee* (though but a Subject) *is more then a Treaſon againſt a King.*

114. Feares and jealouſies cauſe the City to reſume the power of their own *Militia.*

Feares and Jealouſies ariſing from ſeverall Informations (as that of *Cropley* and *Hyde*, called, *The Reſolutions of the Army*) and diverſe other ſymptomes *of danger*, but eſpecially *Skippon's* ſecret Liſting of Sciſmatiques in the City amongſt the Congregations of Mr *Goodwin*, Mr *Patience*, and others, with power given him to *kill and ſlay*; his liſting Servants againſt their Maſters, and ſetting up a Power againſt a Power, had provoked that dull Beaſt *the City* to know their own ſtrength, to look into their Charter & the Cuſtomes of the City, and to Counter-liſt in their own defence: for which purpoſe, they paſſed an Act of Common Councell, dated 27 *July*, 1648. which was ſoon complained of in the Houſe of Commons by *Ven*, *Harvey*, *Penington*, and other ill Birds of that Corporation who uſually defile their own neſts, after many aggravations; that after they had fought with the KING for the *Militia*, any power out of the Parliament ſhould preſume to exerciſe it: A Committee was appointed to Treat with a Committee of the Common Councell, *To heare what they could ſay for themſelves, and by what authority they claimed the uſe of their owne Militia.* The Committees met, and amongſt other things the ſaid Queſtion was asked, *By what authority they Lifted men?* To which was Anſwered, *That they did it by the law of Self-defence, warranted by the law of God, of nature, and of the Land:* and by a farther Authority; to queſtion which, would make little for the advantage of the Parliament: This myſterious Anſwer ſtopped the mouthes of the Parliament Committee. If *London* ſhould plead their Charter and uſages, other places might do the like; ſo this buſineſſe was ſhut up in ſilence. Note that many Sectaries of *Weſtminſter*, *Southwarke*, and the *Hamlets* have been invited and countenanced to petition the Houſe of Commons *againſt uniting their Militia's with London upon pretended cavils:* As that they deſired to have equall number of Voices in the *Mi-*

litia with *London*: But since *London* beareth 7 parts of 9 in the charge, it is an unreasonable demand.

115. The Governour of *Dublyn* seizeth and sendeth over Prisoners the Presbyterian Commanders.

By Orders (as is thought) from *Derby-house*, Colonel *Jones* Governour of *Dublyn*, hath seized upon most of the Presbyterian Commanders thereabouts, and sent them Prisoners to *Westchester*, as Sir *Maurice Eustace*, Sir *John Gyforde*, Col. *Willoughby*, Colonel *Flower*, Major *Stephens*, Major *Capron*, &c. to make room for Independent Officers in his Army, *that the Saints only may possesse the good things of this World*: but chiefly, that his Army being Commanded by Antimonarchicall Schismaticks may the better sympathize and unite with the Antimonarchicall Papists in *Owen Roe Oneale's* Army, against the Lord *Inchiquin*, whereof the said Lord hath given some hint as I have aforesaid. You see the predominant Principle is *Anti-Monarchy*, which easily overswaies *Religion* on both sides.

116. A Frigot of the Prince's taken with many Letters and Commissions.

Sir *Miles Livesey* having casually taken a little Frigot of the Princes, called the *Christopher*; manned with one Capt. *Greene*, and 8 men: tooke divers Commissions in her, and a Letter of Mart, granted to the said Captain *to make prize of Rebels and Enemies Goods*; and a Paper of Instructions, prohibiting *Greene to use any Hostility untill the Prince had published his Declaration, and untill it were designed Who were His Enemies*: other writings were then taken which were referred to a Committee of the House of Commons to peruse and report. Mr *Lechmore* reported from the said Committee, *That some of those Writings were not fit to be published in the House*, (hereby you see that the House is already divested of that Power & Authority which the People have Trusted onely them with, and all is now usurped by confiding Sectary Committees) so Mr *Lechmore* reported, *That there was an Adjudication out of the Princes Admiralty held in the* Isle of Jersey, *whereby a Ship belonging to one* Tucknell *was adjudged against him, upon this ground given in the Adjudication*; *That* Tucknell *had taken that* damnable Oath, *called* [*The Nationall Covenant.*] I appeale to any man that doth not hastily believe all he heares, Whether it be probable the Prince (in such a conjuncture of time, when the Parliament it self saies, *That the Prince invited the* Scots *to invade* England, *and had Declared for them*) would hazard the losing of the *Scots* by inserting such a clause in the Adjudi-

Adjudication? All is not Gold that Gliſters; theſe Letters may be St *Martins* ware, counterfeit ſtuffe.

About this time (it is reported by ſome that profeſſe to know it) there was a deſigne for *Skippon's* new liſted men to ſeize upon Alderman *Langham*, Alderman *Bunce*, and ſome of the Lords and Members of the Houſe of Commons in the night; whereof notice being given, ſome of the Members, knowing that Treachery, (like the Baſilisk) dies if it be firſt ſeen: to ſhew that it was diſcovered, cauſed one of their Party in the Houſe, to move, *That* Skippon *might be ordered not to ſeize on, kill or ſlay any Member of either Houſe.* 117. A deſigne to ſeize on divers Presbyterian Aldermen, Lords and Commons.

An Order paſſed the Houſe of Commons for the Earl of *Warwicke, To fight the Prince at Sea.* It was ſent up to the Lords, and paſſed that Houſe too: whereby it became an Ordinance. Yet ſome of the Lords entered a Proteſtation againſt it, as the Earls of *Lincolne, Suffolke,* Ld *Northe.* 118. An Ordinance for the Earl of *Warwicke* to fight the Prince at Sea.

2 of *Auguſt*, The Zealots of the Houſe of Commons fell again upon the buſineſſe of *Rolfe*; at an unſeaſonable hower of the day, and in a thin Houſe. They ordered *a Conference with the Lords about him*, and *That the Lords be deſired to joine with the Commons in Bayling of him:* and yet, *for Treaſon, a man is not Baylable by Law.* I cannot heare that Maſter *Oſborne's* time of *ſtaying with Freedome and Safety to proſecute ROLFE* is renewed by the Commons, although it be expired: you ſee the iron-bound Saints of the Army are impregnable, even againſt *High Treaſon*, if this puny Saint be ſo inviolable; what hope have Major *Huntington*, and *John Lylborne* to be heard againſt *Cromwell?* 119. More endeavours of the Independents in favour of *Rolfe.*

For if the man ſuch freedome have,
What then muſt he that keeps the knave?

Yet if *Rolfe* had but baſtonadoed Sir *Henry Mildmay* (and that's no great matter) peradventure he had been proſecuted in earneſt.

Thurſday, 3 *Auguſt*, a Letter from the Earle of *Warwicke* was read in the Houſe of Commons, complaining *of the refractorineſſe of the Sea-men, and that he could not govern them without a Commiſſion for Martiall Law:* which was readily aſſented to; as any thing that cries up Arbitrary power above the known Lawes uſually is. But how this will agree with the diſcipline of the Sea, 120. A Letter from the E. of *Warwicke* for Martiall Law at Sea.

and how they will fight being so yoaked, I know not.

121. A Letter from the Parliament to the Assembly of the Kirk of *Scotland.*

The same day a Letter passed the House of Commons, directed to the Assembly of the Kirke of *Scotland*; setting forth what the Parl: had done in way of setling peace. Reforming the Church and Universities, and maintaining the Covenant and union between the two Nations, and complaining of Duke *Hamilton's* Invading *England* under the authority of the Parliament of *Scotland*, to the Kirke there. How dangerous this president may prove to both Kingdomes, to make a few ambitious, pædanticall Church-men, supreme Judges over Parliament and State affaires, *in ordine ad Deum*; and how apt they are to lay hold upon such occasions, and kindle their zeal into a consuming flame, I leave to all wise men to judge.

122. A Declaration and 2 Letters from the Prince, to the City. The Commons debate upon them.

Thursday, 3 *August*: The Sheriffs of *London* and some of the Common Councell brought to the House the Copies of two Letters they had received from the PRINCE; one directed to the Common Councell, *expressing his Highnesse good affection to Peace, and to the whole City; and his endeavours to vindicate his Fathers Liberty and just Prerogative and Rights, to restore to the people their Laws, Liberties, and Property, to free them from that bondage under which they were now held like a Conquered Nation, to ease them of Excise and Taxes, to settle Religion according to his Fathers Agreement made with the* Scots, *and to reduce all things into their antient and proper Channell.* This Letter was accompanied with his Declaration to the same purpose. The other was to the Merchant Adventurers, *Informing them he had made stay of 3 of their Ships, but without any intent to make prize of them, desiring to borrow* 20000*l. of them, to be repayed out of the Customes, and requiring their speedy Answer.* To which, Col. *Harvey* (first aggravating many faults in the King's Government, according to the scandalous Declaration against Him) said, *The Prince was his Fathers own Son, as like Him as could be. That he had invited the* Scots *to come in, and declared for them; and had been formerly in Armes against the Parliament: That he was but a Subject.* And moved the House to declare him a *Rebell and a Traytor.* Sir *Peter Wentworth*, Mr *Knightly*, and Mr *Blackston* seconded him with much earnestnesse; so did *Edward Ashe*, who farther moved, *That the Common Councell and Merchants should give no Answer to his Letters,*

ters, ſaying, *there was no danger the Prince ſhould make prize of their Ships, for that he had engaged to the States of the* Low Countries *to doe no Act prejudiciall to Trade:* At laſt the Debate was put off untill the next day, being Friday: when the Speaker putting the Houſe in mind of it again; It was earneſtly called upon by the younger Sir *John Evelin* (Mr Solicitors ſhadow) *Scott*, *Weaver*, *Holland*, *Boys*, and almoſt all the Godly Gang. So the Debate was reſumed: and *Weaver* went very high to trie the temper of the Houſe. But the Debate *in Terminis*, That *the Prince ſhould be Declared a Rebell and a Traytor* was ſoon laid by (though violently preſſed) chiefly upon theſe reaſons:

1. That they had not the Originals of the Prince's Letter and Declaration, (which the Common Councell ſtill kept) but onely Copies not ſo much as atteſted upon Oath by any authenticall Clerke, therefore no Legall proceedings could be upon them.

2. To Vote the Prince a Traytor the ſame day when they ſent Meſſengers to invite the KING his Father to a Treaty of Peace, would argue no peaceable inclination in them, and would be ſo underſtood by the people.

3. They were engaged by the Nationall Covenant to defend the KING's Perſon, Crowne and Dignity; but the Prince, Heire apparent to His Crowne; was (next under God) the chief ſupporter of his Crown and Dignity, therefore to Vote him a Traytor was to ſubvert his Crown and Dignity.

4. By the *Stat.* 25 *Edw.* 3. it is *High Treaſon to endeavour the deſtruction of the Prince, the Kings eldeſt Son*; but to declare him a Rebell and a Traytor, was to endevour to deſtroy him: and therefore High Treaſon.

5. The people were already jealous that the KING and His Poſterity ſhould be laid by; and in them the Monarchicall Government of this Nation ſubverted, and a new form of Government introduced; they had already by the Votes of *no Addreſſes to the* KING, and by their Declaration againſt Him (wherein they ſay, *They can no longer confide in Him*) laid by the KING, and now to Vote the PRINCE a Rebell and a Traytor, was to lay by both him, and his Brother the DUKE of *Yorke* who adheres to him, which would exceedingly confirm the people in

their feares. But what they could not doe expreſly they did implicitly; by Voting, *All that ſhould adhere to, aide, or aſſiſt the* PRINCE, *Rebels and Traytors:* Hereby they put a tie upon the City not to redeem their Ships by lending 200001. to the Prince; & yet had a Pirate taken them, it had bin lawful to redeem them.

All that adhere to the Prince declared Traytors.

123. The Nationall Covenant.

Saterday, 5 *Auguſt.* The Houſe of Commons went upon the Commiſſioners to judge of Scandals; there was a clauſe in the Ordinance, *forbidding the nominating of ſuch as refuſed the Nationall Covenant:* which was ſtrongly oppoſed by the Independents, who argued, *That the Nationall Covenant was but a League ſworn mutually by the two Nations; that the* Scots *by Invading* England *had firſt broke it, and thereby ſet the* Engliſh *at liberty from it, That the Covenant was not* Jure divino, *no more then Preſbytery was.* To which was Anſwered, *That the large Treaty contained the League between the two Nations;* ſo did not the Covenant, which was *a Vow made unto God with our hands lifted up to Heaven, for the maintenance and obſervation of the ends and principles expreſſed in the Covenant, from which no power on Earth could abſolve.* That though the Covenant was not *Jure divino,* yet the keeping of it after we have taken it is *Jure divino,* it being the revealed will of God, *that we ſhould not offer unto him the ſacrifice of fools;* a Covenant to day, and break it to morrow.

124. A new *Militia* erected in every County, in the hands of Sectaries.

Monday, 7 *Auguſt.* A particular Ordinance *to put the County of* Wilts *into a poſture of defence* was read, many that were named to be Deputy Lieutenants, or Commiſſioners, were meane petty fellows, as one *Read* a Serving-man, and others, ſuch as refuſe to Act upon the Ordinances *for ſetling Church Government,* and declare *that our Miniſtery is Antichriſtian;* and are new dipped Brethren that have been re-baptized. *Theſe to have power to raiſe what men, and put Armes into what hands they liſt: to fine* 10l. *and inflict twenty dayes Impriſonment for every default, and to levy* 400l. *a Week upon that poor County over and above the Taxes to* Fairfax's *Army, and* Ireland, *and Free-quarter.* The generall Ordinance to truſt the Counties with their owne defence, is obſtructed to give way to theſe particular Ordinances, That all the Armes and Garriſons of the Kingdome may be put into the hands of Antimonarchicall Sectaries, And a *Militia* of Godly Cut-throats eſtabliſhed in every County towards the putting downe of Monarchy,

chy, and the erecting of the many-headed Tyranny of the Saints of *Derby-house* and the Army. This Ordinance was Committed.

Tuesday, 8 *August*. *Thomas Scott* made report in the House of Commons of the private Letters brought out of *Scotland* by Master *Haly-burton*, (whereof I have formerly given you notice) this Gentleman being a publique Messenger from the Kingdome of *Scotland* (and not from Duke *Hamilton* or his Army, whom only the House of Commons have declared Enemies, without the concurrence of the Lords) hath leave given him by the Lords to stay a Month in *England*; yet the Commons have since Voted he shall be gone in twenty four howers, or else he shall be sent home in Custody. These Letters are most of them written in Characters; yet this wel-gifted Brother *Scott*, hath found out a New Light to Decipher them by; and can tell by Inspiration, or by Priviledge of Parliament, what Cypher or Character must signifie such a Letter of the Alphabet, or such a mans name. This engine added to the schismaticall High Commission or Committee of Clandestine Examinations, is better then any spring or trap to catch any active Presbyterian that lies crosse to the designe of the Godly.

125. Letters uncharacterized, a new invented net to catch Presbyterians in.

They may suppose any mans name to lie hid under such or such Characters or Cyphers, and so accuse him by vertue of this mysterious Art of aiding or complying with the Scots or the Prince, and pin whatsoever the faction pleaseth to call Treason upon his sleeve; these are the Arts of the Godly to make Innocency it self seem nocent; and remove out of the way such as hinder the erecting of the Kingdome of the Saints.

These Letters so decyphered, were afterwards at a Conference reported to the Lords.

Wednesday, 9 *August*. The Answer to the City Petition (the day before delivered to the House of Commons) was reported to the House. It was an Answer to some of the Prayers of that Petition only: but gave no Answer to their desires, for the *Disbanding of all Armies to ease the People of their Burdens. The restoring of the peoples Lawes and Liberties. The enjoyning all Members to attend the House*; nor *to the effectuall observation of the self-denying Ordinance*. This last is a *noli me tangere*; if all Members should be enjoyned to be *self-denying men*, there would be few *Godly men* left

126. The City Petition, Answered.

left in the House: How should the Saints possesse the good things of this world? yet (after some debate, and divers expressions used by *Weaver* and *Harvey*, That *it appeared by the Petition that the City would desert the Parliament*) they gave an Answer to their desires concerning *the union to be kept with* Scotland, *and a Cessation of all Acts of Hostility during the Treaty of Peace*; That *they had Voted the Army under Duke* Hamilton *Enemies*, and declared, *they would act accordingly against them, to which they would adhere.*

127. The Commons debate to take away the Lords Negative Voice, and act without them.

Master *Hungerford* argued, that because the Lords had denied to concur in the said Vote, he conceived their House could make no such Declaration, nor act therein without them. This put the Zealots into a flame, that any Member should argue against the Priviledges of their House, so far as to deny them to be Almighty singly, and *per se*; *Reynolds* the Lawyer positively affirming, *That the House of Commons (being the Representative of all the people) had power to Act without the Lords for Safety of the People, in case the Lords deserted their Trust*: you see in this doctrine (as it hath been already, and is likely to be practised hereafter) a ground layed to subvert the foundation of all Parliaments for ever, and to bring all degrees of men to a parity or levell. For the Parliament (by all the known Lawes of the Land) consisting of 3 Estates,

1. *King.*
2. *Lords.* And
3. *Commons.*

Two of the Estates (*viz.* the Lords and Commons) have already laid by the KING, and His Negative Voice; and now the Commons debate of laying by the Lords and their Negative Voice, because (in their judgment) they desert their Trust. And so the Commons alone shall act as a Parliament without KING or Lords, until falling into contempt & hatred of the people (which will soon happen) the Grandees of *Derby-house* and the Army shall take advantage to lay the House of Commons by, and usurp the *Kings supreme Governing power*, The *Parliaments Legislative power*; yea, and *the Judges Judicative power to themselves*; and establish the *many headed Kingdome*, *Tyranny* or *Olygarchy of the Saints* (so much contended for) in themselves. *O populum in servitutem*

virtutem paratum! as *Tyberius* ſaid of the Romans. This is the Tayle of the Viper, here lies his venome.

128. Dead men Sequeſtred, and the ſanctuary of the Grave violated.

Saterday, 12. *Auguſt*: a Meſſage was ſent to the Commons from the Houſe of Lords in the behalf of Commiſſary Generall *Copley*, who had bought and had a grant of the Wardſhip of the Heire of Sir *William Hanſby*, for which he paid Fine and Rent, and was outed of it by a Sequeſtration laid upon *Hanſby's* Eſtate after his death, he having been never queſtioned for Delinquency during his life time: and this was malitiouſly done about the time when Maſter *Copley* was Impriſoned by the power of the Independent Faction, (whereof I have already ſaid ſomething) Maſter *Copley* deſired the Sequeſtration might be taken off, and he permitted to enjoy his Contract made with the Court of Wards; alleaging, that to Sequeſter or condemn a man after his death, when he could not anſwer for himſelf was againſt the Laws of the Land, even in the higheſt crimes of Felony and Treaſon: and produced a Preſident, *That the Committee of Lords and Commons for Sequeſtrations had taken off a Sequeſtration from the Lands of* Andrew Wall, for no other reaſon but becauſe *Andrew Wall was Sequeſtred after his Death.* The caſe was diverſly argued; it was alleaged, *that in caſes of the higheſt Treaſons no man was condemned after death, becauſe he was not then in being to anſwer for himſelf, there could be no proceeding in Law againſt a non ens.* In Felony *if a man will ſtand mute, he forfeits not his Lands becauſe there wants an anſwer*, and yet it was his own fault not to anſwer. The Parliament is bound by all their Declarations made both to KING and People, and by the Nationall Covenant which containes all the firſt and juſt principles of the Parliament *to defend the Lawes and Liberties of the Land*, and not to ſubvert them. Take heed of giving ſo dangerous a Preſident for Kings to act by hereafter againſt the people, and againſt this Parliament and their friends; ſince no man yet knows which way the tide may turne. But the Independent faction (whoſe intereſt it is to keep themſelves *rich*, and all men elſe *poor*) argued the caſe meerly upon point of profit and conveniency, and neglected the right and *jus* of the buſineſſe. They alleaged, *that men of deſperate reſolutions would not regard the loſſe of their owne lives, ſo as they might preſerve their Wives and Children: That the State* (as they pleaſed

to stile it) *would lose much by such an example, they could not therefore approve of the lenity of the Lords and Commons used in* Walls *case; many had been Sequestred after Death:* and so arguing *a facto ad jus,* alleaged, *that in case of Monopolies, satisfaction had been awarded out of dead mens Estates.* But they forgot that out of Sequestrations no satisfaction is given to the parties wronged; the Committees and Sequestrators imbezelling the profits of them to encrease their owne gaines, not bestowing them to repair injured mens losses, & so the equity upon which this President is founde', faileth in case of Sequestrations. Thus you see these greedy Canniball Saints (like the hungry Dogs that eate *Jesabell*) will devoure carrion or any thing that will make them fat and full: yet they declared, *They were willing this Sequestration should be bestowed upon Master* Copley *as a Gratuity, not as a Right for fear of the example.* Observe, that if Master *Copley* had waived his Title by Composition, and accepted this Wardship as a Gift, they would presently have published it in their *Newes Bookes*, and *Gilbert Mabbot* should have proclaimed it to all the world, that Presbyterians and Independents might be thought alike guilty of impoverishing the Kingdome: for this Faction labours nothing more then to have many Companions in their sins and shames. At last it was passed, *That Mr* Copley *should have the Wardship restored to him,* but great care taken it should not be drawn into example hereafter; That a man may not be Sequestred for Delinquency after his Death, *Cavete vobis mortui atq; sepulti*, dead mens Graves are not secure from these *Lycanthropi*, these *Lou-garons.*

129. The Messengers to the King, Report their Message in the House of Commons.

Monday, 14 *August:* Master *Bulkeley* in the name of himself and his fellow-Commissioner Sir *J. Hippesly* (sent to the KING to acquaint Him with the Vote of the two Houses, *That they desired a Treaty with the* KING *upon the Propositions of* Hampton-Court *in what place of the Island of* Wight *He should think fit, and that the Treaty should be with Honour, Freedome, and Safety to His Majesty*) Reported to the House of Commons all the circumstances and emergencies of their employment, (the KING's Letter of Answer being carried to the Lords by the Earl of *Middlesex*, and therefore not delivered to the Commons for the present) which with much candor were related as followeth, *That the KING bade them welcome, saying, they came about a welcome*

come buſineſſe (PEACE) which no man deſired with more earneſtneſſe then Himſelf; and if there did not enſue a Peace, the fault ſhould not lie at His dore; and that He feared no obſtructions from any but thoſe who gained by the Warre. He farther ſaid, *that His Majeſty deſired (immediately after the delivery of the Votes) to ſpeake a word to them in private, which they modeſtly excuſed for want of Commiſſion.* That about two daies after His Majeſty ſeeing the ſaid Commiſſioners of Parliament ſtanding in the preſence Chamber, firſt beckoned the Earle of *Middleſex* to him, and had ſome ſhort diſcourſe ſingly with Him, and then with Sir *John Hippeſly* and Maſter *Bulkeley* one after another. Theſe three Gentlemen afterwards comparing their notes, found the KING's diſcourſe to every of them to be all to one effect, *viz. expreſſing His deſires of a good peace:* and *importuning them to doe all good offices conducing thereto. He further related that when they tooke leave of His Majeſty, He delivered His Anſwer in writing to them unſealed*; telling them, *He doubted not their fidelity, though ill uſe had been made of his laſt Anſwer which He ſent open; it having been debated in private, and a prejudice put upon it, before it was preſented to the Houſes.* This free and unpartiall Report ſhewing how earneſt His Majeſty is for Peace, did the KING ſo much Right, that the Antimonarchicall faction looked upon it as done to their wrong: and *Herbert Morley* preſently ſpit out his venome to this purpoſe, Mr *Speaker, theſe Gentlemen have delivered all to you but what they ſhould deliver, that is, the* KING's *Anſwer, which they have ſuffered firſt to be carried to the Lords; they might have delivered you at leaſt a Copy thereof* (it ſhould ſeem *Morley* had forgot that the Houſe proceeds not upon Copies) *my motion is, that ſince theſe Gentlemen have exceeded their Commiſſion by conferring privately with the King: The Houſe may doe well either to queſtion them therefore, or give them an Act of Oblivion for their good ſervice:* This was cried upon a long time by the whole kennell of the Faction, and at laſt put off to the next day, when the Lords ſending down the Kings Letter, the Houſe ſhould have the whole buſineſſe before them.

130. The aforeſaid Meſſengers again.

The next day being Tueſday, 15 *Auguſt:* the King's aforeſaid Letter of Anſwer with diverſe Votes thereupon were ſent downe from the Lords to the Houſe of Commons, when preſently the

Beagles of the faction spent their mouths freely against the said Commissioners again for lending the KING the civillity of an eare in private, as aboveſaid. After a long debate, at laſt this Objection ſtopped the mouths of malice it ſelf, *That if theſe Gentlemen had reported an averſneſſe in the King to Peace (and aggravated His words as other Meſſengers had formerly done, whereof the King ſeemed to complain) it would have proved a welcome diſcovery, and have been rewarded with Thanks inſtead of an Act of Oblivion.* So with much adoe, *Thanks were given to the ſaid Gentlemen, with approbation of their proceedings.*

131. The *Militia* of *London*: Concerning private Liſting by *Skippon*, and the *Militia* of the City.

The ſame day the *Militia of London* were called into the Houſe of Commons, where Alderman *Gybs* in the name of the Common Councell and Militia (not by Petition, but in a ſet Speech) delivered the Feares and Jealouſies of the City (even of the graveſt, wiſeſt, and beſt affected) occaſioned by *Skippon's* underhand Liſting of Schiſmaticks, antimonarchiſts; his ſetting up thereby a power againſt a power to the endangering of a Civill War within the Bowels of the City, weakning of the Trained Bands, deboſhing Servants from their Maſters, Children from their Parents. That under colour of *Skippon's* private Liſtings, other private Liſtings were carried on by Malignants; the Magiſtrates of the City not being able to queſtion either, and diſtinguiſh one from the other. That feare was a violent paſſion, and was now grown ſo univerſall, that the Common Councell knew not how to give ſatisfaction therein; the Citizens uſually clamouring, *that if the Houſes did not give them leave to look to their Safety, they muſt have recourſe to the Law of Nature, and Act in their Militia without the Houſes in order to Self-defence allowable by all Lawes*; and *practiſed by this very Parliament againſt the King, and by* Fairfax's *Army againſt this Parliament.*

The prayers of his Speech were three:

1. That *Skippon's* Liſted men might be under the Militia of the City.

2. That the expired Ordinance for Liſting Forces might be revived.

3. That the Militias of *Weſtminſter*, *Southwarke*, and the *Hamlets* might be united with the City as formerly.

To this clauſe of having *recourſe to the Law of Nature for Self-defence*,

defence, great exceptions were taken in the debate of the Houſe by the two *Aſhes*, *Ven*, *Harvey*, *Scott*, *Weaver*, and other of the Godly pack. *That the Parliament having fought with the King for the Militia, and having got it by the Sword, any other Intereſt, upon any title whatſoever ſhould dare to lay claime to any part of it.* You ſee theſe Lyons of the Tribe will allow no Beaſts of different kind to ſhare with them in their prey, although they did ſweat and bleed with them in the hunting and catching of it. The Grandees may as well ſay *they have conquered our Lawes and Liberties*; for (as I have in my *Generall Concluſions* cited) they ſay, *That they fought with the King for His Negative Voice, and Legiſlative Power, and that God hath by the verdict of the Sword given judgment for them*; and yet when the King claimed them by a better and more legall Title then the Sword, they could object the equity of the Lawes againſt the killing letter of them, which they ſay, directs ſtill to the equitable ſenſe of all Lawes, as diſpencing with the very letter thereof, as being ſupreme to it when ſafety and preſervation is concerned, and alleaging, *That all Authority is ſeated fundamentally in the Office, and but miniſterially in the perſons*; *and that it is no reſiſting of Magiſtracy to ſide with the juſt principles of Nature.* See the Declaration and Papers of the Army, p. 39, 40. and the Exact Collect. p. 150. *& alibi paſſim.* In concluſion, after a tedious debate, the deſires of the Citizens were referred to a Committee of the Houſe to be wyer-drawne into an Ordinance, *That all Forces raiſed, and to be raiſed in the City of* London *and the Liberties thereof, ſhould be ſubject to the Militia of* London (whereof *Skippon* is a Member) *and under the Command of Major Generall* Skippon. When this Ordinance will be perfected, what the ſence and meaning of this Riddle is, and what dangers may befall the City if *Colcheſter* be taken, or the Scots beaten before they have leave to put themſelves into a poſture of defence, God knowes. It was farther referred to bring in an Ordinance for uniting the aforeſaid *Militia's*. You ſee how jealous they are of late of the *Militia*, ſince the Grandees entertained new Principles and new deſignes. In the Propoſitions preſented to the King at *Newcaſtle*, the Propoſition for the *Militia* hath this *proviſo*, provided *that the City of* London *ſhall have and enjoy all their Rights, Liberties, Franchiſes, and Cuſtomes, and Uſa-*

ges in raising and imploying the Forces of that City for the defence thereof, in as full and ample manner to all intents and purposes, as they have or might have used or enjoyed the same at any time before the making of this Act or Proposition: to the end that City may be fully assured, it is not the intention of the Parl: to take from them any Priviledges or Immunities in raising or disposing of their Forces, which they have, or might have used or enjoyed heretofore. This is a clear confession, that by the antient Customs & Usages of the City, they have Right to their own *Militia*, or else this *proviso* were vaine; howsoever the learned Councell of the City fool them. The like *proviso* word for word, is contained in the Proposition for the *Militia* of *Hampton Court*, saving that the last clause, *That the City may be assured the Parliament hath no intention to take from them any Priviledges, &c.* is omitted. I think to please the Army and their engaged party. See the Letters, Papers, Transactions of the English Commissioners in *Scotland* with the Scots, &c. p. 58.

132. The Lords Votes upon the Kings Letter, debated in the House of Commons.

Wednesday, 16 *August*: the King's said Letter was read, and the Lords Votes thereupon: first, (after some little opposition) the Commons concurred with the Lords in recalling the 4 Votes *for making and receiving no Addresses to or from the King*: thereby, 1. Absolving Him from a kind of Parliamentary excommunication.

2. Restoring to all Free-borne Subjects the Liberty they are borne to; of presenting their humble desires to His Majesty, and performing the Duties of their Allegiance and Oath.

And 3. Reducing themselves unto that scope and end for which onely the Writ summons them as a Parliament, *viz. To Treat with their King.* The second Vote read, was, *To recall the Instructions of Parliament given to* Hammond, *how to carry himself in his charge towards the King, His Servants, and all Resorters to Him, &c.* This was laid by, to be debated in the last place, after all the rest of the Lords Votes. The third Vote read, was, *That such men of all Professions as the King should send for, as of necessary use to Him in the Treaty, may be admitted to wait on Him, and that He might be in the same state of Freedome He was in when He was last at* Hampton Court. This Vote (in stead of concurring with the Lords) was divided. The *first* part (after many objections to it) was moulded into this following Question, and carried in the affirmative,

tive, *That His Majeſty might ſend for Men of all Profeſſions, and He being deſired firſt to ſend a Liſt of their Names to the Parlament, and nominating no Perſon excepted out of Pardon, none that have been in Actuall War againſt the Parliament, nor any man that is under reſtraint of the Parliament.* The latter part of this Vote, *for enjoying ſuch Freedome as He Was in at* Hampton Court, was diverſly argued, for the ambiguouſneſſe of it: the Queſtion being, *Whether ſuch Freedome as the Parliament allowed Him*, or *ſuch Freedome as the Army* (for their own ends) *gave Him* de facto, *were intended?* at laſt the Queſtion was agreed to *in Terminis*. The fourth Vote, was, *That the Scots ſhould be invited to the Treaty:* this likewiſe was doubtfully argued, 1. *Whether they ſhould be invited by the Parliament? conſidering they had broken the large Treaty, Nationall Covenant, and Union by ſurprizing and Garriſoning* Barwicke *and* Carliſle, *and by entring* England *with an Army:* this was carried in the negative. The 2 Debate, was, *Whether it ſhould be left to the King to invite the Scots to ſend ſome Perſons authorized to Treat upon ſuch Propoſitions as they ſhould make for the Intereſt of* Scotland *onely?* This likewiſe was oppoſed for the reaſons aforeſaid, and becauſe the Power and Authority of *Scotland* was now in the hands of Duke *Hamilton* and a few diſ-affected perſons, who were not likely to ſend any of the honeſt, Godly party to Treat, whereby the Treaty would be carried on to the diſ-advantage and ruine of the Godly and of the Church, our onely friends there: and Maſter *Aſhurſt* related, *That the major part of the pack Parliament of* Scotland *over-powred the minor part by an Army; and ſo got the Engagement and other Acts, and the Committee of Eſtates paſſed, againſt which the Aſſembly of the Kirke (conſiſting of* 400 *perſons) Declared with one Voice.* I know not what he meant by ſaying *the major part in* Scotland *over-powred the minor part*, when I conſider that, *major pars obtinet rationem totius*, the major part is virtually the Parliament, to which the minor part muſt ſubmit; although here in *England* the leſſer part of the Parliament engaging and conſpiring with an Army (whom themſelves in a full and free Parliament had formerly declared *Enemies to the ſtate*) over-powred the greater part contrary to reaſon and practice. This Queſtion ſeemed to agree with the ſenſe of the Independents reaſonably well, becauſe it leaves it

onely

only to the pleasure of the King to Treat dis-junctively with the Scots upon the sole Interest of *Scotland*, as men no waies concerned in the setlement of peace in *England*; whereby it is tacitely inferred, that the Treaties, Covenant, and Union between the two Kingdomes is dissolved: so the Question aforesaid was put with this addition, *That if the King shall be pleased to invite the Scots to send some persons Authorized, &c. the Parliament will give them safe Conduct.* The fifth Vote of the Lords was, *That* Newport *in the* Isle of Wight *should be the place of Treaty:* to which the Commons concurred. With these Debates ended this Week the 19 day of *August.*

133. A pestilent Booke, called, [*The necessity of the absolute Power of Kings, &c.*]

About this time came forth a Book, entituled, [*The necessity of the absolute power of all Kings: and in particular, of the King of* England] concerning which, I am to admonish the Reader, that it is conceived to be a Cockatrice hatched by the Antimonarchicall faction, to envenome the people against the KING and PRINCE.

The next Week begins with Monday, 21 *Auguſt*, of whoſe proceedings I can give you onely an imperfect ſcambling relation: and ſo ſhall ſurceaſe all farther endeavours in this kind, becauſe I have already delivered enough for your inſtruction; if God have not appointed you to be led blindfold into the pit digged for your deſtruction: but principally becauſe my good *Genius* that furniſhed me with Intelligence, hath now retired himſelf from acting without hope, to praying with faith, for his Country: being tired out with hearing and ſeeing ſo much ſin and folly as now reignes at *Weſtminſter*: and I love not much to take newes upon truſt from the vulgar Peripateticks of the Hall. The chief things of note were, More Complaints of *Henry Martyn*, who now declares himſelf *for a Community of Wealth*, as well as of Women; *and proteſts againſt* KING, *Lords, Gentry, Lawyers and Clergy*; nay, *againſt the Parliament it ſelf*, in whoſe boſome this Viper hath been foſtered, and *againſt all Magiſtrates*: like a ſecond *Wat Tyler*, all Pen and Inkhorn men muſt down. His Levelling Doctrine is contained in a Pamphlet, called, [*Englands Troublers Troubled,*] wherein, *All Rich men whatſoever are declared Enemies to the Mean men of* England; and (in effect) War denounced againſt them.

134. M. *Martin's* levelling Practiſes and Principles.

Next, the Ordinance *for tranſferring over to the Militia of* London Skippon's *power of Liſting men in* London, was paſſed in the Houſe of Commons: with this Coloquintida in it, *That* Skippon *ſhould name and appoint Commanders and Officers for the Forces liſted, to be approved of by the Militia of* London.

135. *Skippon's* Lyſtings.

A Letter from *Oliver Cromwell* was read in the Houſe of Commons, *relating his eaſie Victory over Duke* Hamilton *and Major Gen:* Bayly, (which puts me in mind of *Ovid's* Victory over *Corinna*, of whom he ſaith,

136. *Cromwel's* laureat Letters, 20. *Aug.* 1648.

Victa eſt, non ægrè, proditione ſua.)

and containing an admonition *not to hate Gods people who are as the apple of his eye, and for whom even Kings ſhall be reproved: and exhorting the Speaker* (to whom it was written) *to fulfill the end of his Magiſtracy, that all that will live peaceably and quietly* (viz. in Vaſſalage to *Oliver* and his Faction; and neglect Religion, Laws, and Liberties) *may have countenance from him.* (God bleſſe all honeſt men from the light of *Oliver's* countenance, leſt an

ignis fatuus mis-lead them from the duties of their Oaths of Allegiance, Supremacy, Protestation, and Covenant) *and they that are implacable, may speedily be destroyed out of the Land.*

247. Martiall Law in *London.*

To prepare the way to whose destruction, it was Ordered, *That an Ordinance be penned, and brought into the House of Commons, to try all such by Martiall Law in the City of* London *as shall be found to plot, designe, or contrive any thing, to endanger the Parliament or City.* And yet *London* is no Garrison now as it was when *Tomkins* and *Challoner* were tried; nor is there any Enemy considerable in the Field; whereby the known Lawes of the Land may not passe currently through the Kingdome: but our known Lawes are not written in bloud; nor are they so flexible as to make all Traytors, the Faction pleaseth to call such.

138. *Rolfe's* Bayle again pressed.

Yet as cruell as these Caco-fuegos of the faction are to some, they have mercy enough for *Rolfe*, whose Bayle was again exceedingly pressed: and that his two Prosecutors *Osborne* and *Dowsett* should be under restraint in his stead; whom they have forejudged (out of the KING's Letter to the Houses) not to be able to prove their information, whereas it may be discretion in the KING not to encrease his danger by acknowledging it.

139. The King's Letter to the States of *Scotland* taken from *Haly-burton.*

Saterday, 26 *August.* The KING's Letter to the Committee of States in *Scotland*, &c. in Answer to their Letter sent to Him by *Haly-burton* (which Letter was taken from *Haly-burton* although a publique Minister of State, and allowed by Parliament to carry their Letter to the KING) was read in the House of Commons.

I heare in generall, that it was excellently well penned; and a very just, honest, and peaceable Letter. Yet it was Voted neither to be sent to the Lords, nor to be restored to *Haly-burton*; but damned to close imprisonment in a Box, under Seale; lest the people should know how truly zealous His Majesty is to settle peace in the Land: a mystery their understandings must not be trusted withall.

Prolegomena.

Promiſes, Proteſtations, and Covenants, made by this Parliament in behalf of the KING *and People.*

AFter a repetition of many good Acts and Conceſſions obtained by this Parliament of the King for the eaſe of the people. They ſay further, *That other things of maine importance for the good of this Kingdome are in propoſition, &c. which yet before the end of this Seſſion they hope may receive ſome progreſſe and perfection; As the eſtabliſhing and ordering the King's Revenue, &c. The Regulating of Courts of Juſtice, and the abridging both the delaies and Charges of Law Suits, &c. Preventing the exportation of Gold and Silver; and the inequality of Exchanges between this and other Kingdomes; improving the Herring-fiſhing upon our Coaſts, &c.* which things in all their Propoſitions and Addreſſes to the King have not been once mentioned. Nor any thing elſe but what makes for the profit, preferment, and power of a few ambitious Grandees of the Parliament, and Army: in order to which, they demand the *Militia* of a ſtanding Army, with an Arbitrary power to raiſe what Forces by Land and Sea, conſiſting of what Perſons, and to raiſe what ſums of Money out of every mans Eſtate, they pleaſe: which power the King hath not to give; neither did He nor His Auncеſtors ever exerciſe: the onely *Militia* they uſed having been either *the Poſſe Commitatus under the Sheriffs*, which is very legall and auntient: or *the Militia of Trained Bands under Lord Lieutenants, and their Deputy Lieutenants:* which is a new invention. Nor did the policy of our Law ever truſt the *power of the Sword*, and *the Purſe in one hand*, for fear of enſlaving the people. *Remonſtrance, 15 Decembr. 1642. Exact Collect: p.15.*

They farther Declare, *That it is far from their purpoſe or deſire to let looſe the Golden reines of Diſcipline and Government in the Church, to have private perſons, or particular Congregations to take up what form of Divine Service they pleaſe, becauſe they hold it requiſite that there ſhould be throughout the whole Realme a Conformity to that order which the Laws enjoyne.* *Exact Col. p.19.*

They farther ſay there, *That the Gratious favour His Majeſty expreſſed in the Bill for continuance of this Parliament, and the advantage and ſecurity which they thereby have from being Diſſolved, ſhall not incourage them to doe any thing, which otherwiſe had not been fit to have been done.* *Ex. Col. p. 203.*

They conclude the ſaid Declaration thus, *That they doubt not but it ſhall in the end appear to all the world, that their endeavours have been moſt hearty and ſincere, for the maintenance of the true Proteſtant Religion, The King's juſt Prerogatives, The Lawes and Liberties of the Land, and the Priviledges of Parliament, in which endeavours (by the Grace of God) they would ſtill perſiſt, though they ſhould periſh in the work.* *Ex. Col. p. 281.*

In their Declaration, 4 *June*, 1642. The Lords and Commons do declare, *That the Deſigne of their Propoſitions for Plate and Money is; To maintain the* *Ex. Col. p. 376.*

Protestant Religion, The King's Authority and Person in his Royall Dignity; The free Course of Justice, The Laws of the Land, (what then becomes of Martiall Law, and Committee Law?) *The Peace of the Kingdome, and Priviledges of Parliament.*

Ex.Coll. p.340. In their Propositions for bringing in Money and Plate, 10 *June*, 1642. The Lords and Commons declare, *That no mans affections shall be measured according to the proportion of his offer, so that he expresse his good will to the Service in any proportion whatsoever,* (that is, so that he engage with them) yet notwithstanding the 29 *Novemb.* following, the same Lords and Commons appointed a Committee of 6 persons who should have *power to Assesse all such Persons as were of ability, and had not Contributed; and all such as had Contributed, yet not according to their ability,* (which is now looked upon as a Malignancy) *to pay such summes of Money, according to their Estates, as the Assessors, or any 4 of them should think fit, so as the same exceeded not the 20 part of their Estates.* The power is still exercised by all Country Committees to a 5 and a 10 part, charged upon all men: even such as have been destroyed and undone, or laid forth themselves beyond their abilities, for their service to this Parliament.

Ex.Coll. p.765.

In the *National Covenant* taken by this *Parliament*, and by them imposed upon the Kingdome to be taken *with hands lifted up to the most High God.* The Lords and Commons, Vow, *To maintain the King's Person, Crowne and, Dignity; in Defence of Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, &c. To suppresse all Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies, and Shismes; and to defend one another mutually in the same worke with their lives and fortunes:* yet is the same Covenant now cast aside, and called, *An Almanacke out of Date.* Many men have been punished for attempting to keep it. And (I heare) the House of Commons are now upon passing an Ordinance for *Martiall Law to be executed in* London, *upon all such persons, as having taken the said Covenant, shall attempt or designe any thing against the Parliament or City of* London: what is this but to impose a speciall penalty upon such as have taken the Covenant, and leave those that have not taken it free? And who doubts but that the said Councell of Warre shall consist of Anti-monarchicall Schismaticks and Anti-covenanters, for the most part, who shal stretch every word to the utmost extent. And this is now in brewing, contrary to the *Petition of Right, 3 Caroli,* and *Magna Charta*; no considerable Enemy being in the Field, and the Courts of Iustice in *Westminster Hall* sitting: nay, I hear (like *Janus Bifrons*) this Law (if I do not miscall it) looks backwards to acts past, as well as forward, contrary to the nature of all Laws, which have an admonishing power to warn men of the evill to come, before they can have a punishing power for evils passed: Therefore the Apostle saith, *Sin is a breach of a Commandement,* (*or Law*) *I had not known sin but by the Law.* The Law therefore must be previous to the sin. How the said Promises and Covenant, and many more have been kept, let the world judge.

What the Promises, Vndertakings, and Proposals of the Army have been in order to setling the peace of the people of this Kingdome, and of the King's just Rights and Prerogatives, and their own Disbanding: are to be found in their many printed *Papers*; which I will here omit, because they had no lawful calling or warrant for such undertakings, and how they have been prosecuted and performed is obvious to every capacity.

Out of theſe Premiſes, I ſhall draw theſe Concluſions following:

Generall Concluſion.

1. THe *engaged Party* have laid the *Axe* to the very *root* of *Monarchy* and *Parliaments*: they have caſt all the Myſteries and ſecrets of Government, both by Kings and Parliaments, before the vulgar (like *pearle before ſwine*) and have taught both the Souldiery and people to looke ſo far into them, as to ravell back all Governments, to the firſt principles of nature: he that ſhakes Fundamentals, means to take down the Fabrick. Nor have they been carefull to ſave the materials for Poſterity. What theſe negative Statiſts will ſet up in the room of theſe ruined buildings doth not appear; only I will ſay, *They have made the people thereby ſo curious and ſo arrogant, that they will never find humility enough to ſubmit to a civill rule*; their ayme therefore from the beginning was to rule them by the *power of the Sword*, a military Ariſtocracy or Oligarchy, as now they doe. Amongſt the auntient Romans, *Tentare Arcana Imperii*, to profane the myſteries of State, was Treaſon; becauſe there can be no form of Government without its proper myſteries: which are no longer myſteries then while they are concealed. Ignorance, and Admiration ariſing from Ignorance, are the parents of civill devotion and obedience, though not of Theologicall.

1. The Grandees have ſubverted the fundamentall Government of the Kingdome, and why.

2. Nor have theſe *Grandees* and *their party in the Synod*, dealt more kindly with *the Church*, then with *the Common-Wealth*: whoſe reverend myſteries, their Pulpits and holy Sacraments, and all the Functions of the Miniſtery are by their connivence profaned by the *clouted ſhoe*; *the baſeſt and loweſt of the people making themſelves Prieſts*, and with *a blind diſtempered zeal Preaching ſuch Doctrine as their private Spirits* (ſpirits of illuſion) *dictate to them*: But let them know, *that their burning zeal without knowledge, is like Hell fire without light*. Yet the greateſt wonder of all is, *That*

2. They have ſubverted the Church.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper discontinued, and why?

they suffer the Lords Supper (that Sacrament of Corroboration) *to be so much neglected in almost all the Churches in the Kingdome: Is it because men usually before they receive our Saviour* (that blessed guest) *sweep the house clean, casting out of their hearts* (those living Temples of the Holy Ghost) *Pride, Ambition, Covetousnesse, Envy, Hatred, Malice, and all other unclean Spirits, to make fit room to entertain* Jesus, *that Prince of Peace,* whereby the people having their minds prepared for *Peace, Charity,* and *Reconciliation,* may happily spoil the *trade* of our *Grandees,* who can no longer maintain their usurped dominion over them, then they can keep them dis-united with quarrels and feudes; and uphold those Badges of factions, and tearms of distinction and separation, *Cavaliers, Round-heads, Malignants, Wel-affected, Presbyterians,* and *Independents?* or is it because they fear, if the Church were setled in peace and unity, it would be a means to unite the Common-wealth, as a quiet cheerfull mind often cureth a distempered body? I will not take upon me to judge another mans Servant; but many suspect this is done out of designe, not out of peevishnesse.

3. The Grandees rule by the arbytrary power of the Sword, not by the Lawes.

3. That these *Grandees* govern *by power,* not *by love;* and the *Laws of the Land* (which was my last assertion) appears by,

1. The many Garrisons they keep up, and numerous Army they keep in pay to over-power the whole Kingdome; more then at first the Parliament Voted: all in the hands of Sectaries.

2. Their compelling the Parliament to put the whole *Militia* of *England* and *Ireland* by Land and Sea, in the power of Sir *Thomas Fairfax* and their Party, together with all Garrisons.

3. Nor doe they think the Laws of the Land extensive enough for their purposes; therefore they piece them out with Arbitrary Ordinances, Impeachments before the Lords, and Marshall Law, which is now grown to that height, that the Councell of War, Generall, and Judge Advocate of the Army do usually send forth Injunctions to stay Suits, and release Judgments at Law, or else to attend the Councell of War wheresoever they sit, to shew cause to the contrary: And when Lieutenant Col. *Lylburne* was ordered to be brought to the Kings-Bench-Bar, upon his *habeas*

Corpus,

Corpus, Eaſter Terme, 1648. *Cromwell* ſent word to the Lieutenant of the *Tower* not to bring him; and *Cromwell* was obeyed, not the *Judges*. Thus the *Laws of the Land* are daily baffled, that men may be accuſtomed to Arbitrary Government, and thoſe actions which no *Law of the Land* calls *a Crime*, may be interpreted *Treaſon*, when our *Grandees* pleaſe to have it ſo.

4. Their *allowing Money* to ſome *Committees* to *reward Informers, Spies*, and *Intelligencers*, to *betray* even their neereſt friends and relations.

5. Their *holding Honeſt, Generous*, and *Grave men in ſuſpition*, and making the *Houſes of Parliament and Army* ſnares to them, expelling them with *falſe* and *extrajudiciall Accuſations*.

6. Their *owning diſhoneſt, baſe-minded men*, that have *cheated the State*, as *inſtruments* fit to be *confided in*, and aſſociate with them in *time of danger*.

7. Their *impoveriſhing the people with confuſed Taxes, decay of Trade*, and *obſtructing of the Mint*, and *therby breaking their ſpirits*.

8. Their *changing* and *dividing* the *Militia* of *London*, purpoſely to *weaken it*.

9. Their *not reſtoring to the Counties* their *Militia*, and truſting them to *defend their own houſes* as formerly.

10. Their *nouriſhing Factions in the Common-wealth, Schiſmes in the Church*.

11. *Expelling learned Divines* to let in *ignorant men*. All theſe are tyrannicall policies grounded upon the old principle, *That a Tyrant ſhould deprive his Subjects of all things that may nouriſh courage, ſtrength, knowledge, mutuall confidence and charity amongſt them*; which Maxime the beſt Politicians ſay contains the *Whole Syſteme or method of Tyrannicall Government*.

4. As this encroaching Faction have *uſurped all the Military and Civill power of both Kingdomes*; ſo they have *monopolized all the great Offices, rich Imployments, and Treaſure of the Land*; They are clearly the predominant party in all *Money Committees*; They *give daily* to one another *for pretended Services, Arreares, and Loſſes, great ſums of Money*: many of their Largiſſes I have already ſet down. They gave lately to Col. *Hammond* Governour of the *Iſle of Wight*, for his Table 20l. a Week, 1000l. in money, and 500l. a year land: to Major Generall *Skippon* 1000l. *per annum* land

4. The Independents divide the Taxes, Spoiles, and preferments of the Land between them.

land of Inheritance; to Colonel *Mitton* 5000l. in mony; *Prideaux* hath 100l. a Week benefit by the Poſt-Maſters place; his whole Eſtate (before this Parliament) was hardly worth 10000l. nor is he eminent for any thing but *impudence* and *arrogance*: Maſter *Rowſe* hath *Eaton Colledge*, worth 800l. *per ann.* and a Leaſe of that Colledge worth 600l. *per annum*: Sir *William Alanſon* the Hamper-Office, and *Crab-Caſtle*, worth 600l. *per annum*, bravely wooded: Alder: *Hoyle* of *Yorke*, the Treaſurers Remembrancers Office: Maſter *Sallaway* a poor Grocer, the Kings Remembrancers Office; neither of which, are able to read any one Record in thoſe Offices. *Tho: Scott*, *Lambeth-houſe*. Sir *Will: Brereton*, *Croyden-houſe*. Col. *Harvey*, *Fulham* & *Norwich-houſes*. Mr *Lyſle* the Maſterſhip of St *Croſſes*. *Dennis Bond's* 3 Sons, each of them a Place worth 500l. a year, beſides many others. All the cheating, covetous, ambitious perſons of the Land, are united together under the name and title of *The Godly*, *the Saints*, *&c.* and *ſhare the fat of the Land between them*, few of them *pay any Taxes*, but *all the Land paies Tribute to them.*

It is thought this *Faction*, their *under-Agents* and *Factors*, have coſt this *Common-Wealth* above 20 *millions* never laid forth in any publick ſervice: nay, the *Treaſurers* and *Publicans* of *this Faction* have *clipped* and *waſhed* moſt of the *Money* that comes into their fingers before they pay it forth, knowing that any *money* that comes out of their fingers will be accepted: *two Gold-ſmiths* are thought to be *dealers this way*, yet they *lay the blame* on the *Scotiſh Army*, as the *Cuckow laies her brood* in *other Neſts*.

5. The Independents provided of Places of retreat to flie to.

5. Having thus imped their wings for flight, they have provided themſelves of places of retreat in caſe they cannot make good their ſtanding in *England*; *Ireland* is kept unprovided for, that they may find room in it when neceſſity drives them thither. If their hopes faile in *Ireland*, they have *New-England*, *Bermudas*, *Barbadas*, the *Carybi* Iſles, the Iſle of *Providence*, *Eleutheria*, *Lygonia*, and other places to retreat to, and lay up the ſpoyles of *England* in: nay, they uſually ſend *cheſts* and *veſſels* with *money*, *plate*, and *goods* beyond Sea, with *Paſſes* from the *two Speakers*, *To let them paſſe without ſearching*: the *Navy* is in their power to accommodate their *flight*, and by their Inſtruments called *Spirits*, they have taken up many Children and ſent them before to be

Slaves

Slaves and *drudges* to the *Godly* in their *ſchiſmaticall Plantations*: as the *Turke* takes up *Tribute-children* from the *Chriſtians* to furniſh his *nurſery* of *Janiſaries*; and ſo they have their *Agents* that buy up all the Gold they can get: *Cromwell* not long ſince, offered 110001. in ſilver for 10000l. in gold; beſides, he is well furniſhed with the Kings Jewels taken in His Cabinet at *Nazeby*; many of them known Jewels, as the *Harry*, and the *Elizabeth*.

6. Nor ſhall the vulgar ſort of *Independents* either in *Parliament*, *Army* or *City*, fare better then the reſt of the *Kingdome*. The *Grandees* both of *Parliament* and *Army* endeavouring to adjourn the *Parliament*, and draw all the power of both Houſes into the Committee of *Derby-houſe*, conſiſting but of 30 or 40. the reſt of the *Independent Members* will find their power diſſolved in the adjournment, and ſwallowed up by that Committee, and their ſervices forgotten: nor ſhall they have any power in the *Militia*, which is the only quarrell between them and the KING: the *Grandees* diſdaining to have ſo many Partners in that which they have got by their owne wits; for know that the *Grandees* have alwaies been winnowing the Parliament. Firſt, they winnowed out the *moderate men* under the notion of the *Kings party*, then the *Preſbyterians*, and now they will winnow forth the *lighter* and more *chaffy ſort* of *Independents*, who ſtand for the *Liberty of the people*; a thing which *Cromwell* now calleth, *A fancy not to be engaged for*; and ſo they will bring all power into their own hands. Thus having contracted the *Parliament* into a *Committee of Safety*, they will adjourn themſelves (though the Parliament cannot) to *Oxford*, or ſome other place which they more confide in then *London*; and this is the *ſetling the Kingdome without the* KING, they ſo much ayme at: and which, they had rather the people ſhould be brought *practically* and by *inſenſible degrees*, then by *Declarations* held forth to them before hand, or by *politick Lectures* in the *Pulpit*. Thus it is decreed, that this Caball of *Godly men* at *Derby-houſe* ſhall with a *military Ariſtocracy*, or rather *Oligarchy*, rule this *Nation* with a *rod of Iron*, and *break them in pieces* like a *Potters veſſell*.

6. The vulgar Independents but props and properties to the Grandees.

Obſerve that the *Ordinance* by which the *Committee of Derby-houſe* is revived, and the *addition* of power to it, are purpoſely penned in ſuch ambiguous tearms, that *He that hath the Sword in*

his hand, may make what construction of them he pleaseth: neither were they clearly penned; Is it in the *power of the Houses* (being but the *Trustees* of the People) *to transfer or delegate their trust to a lesser number of men*? a *trust not being tranferable by Law, and the people having chosen a Parliament, not a Committee, to look to their safety and Peace.*

7. The Army hinder Peace and setlement.

7. The *Grandees* of the *Parliament* and *Army* have brought the Kingdome to so miserable a condition, that they have left no Authority in *England* able to settle Peace: The KING is a close Prisoner to the Army, therefore all he shall doe will be clearly void in Law by reason of *Dures*: The Parliament is in Wardship to them, who keep armed Guards upon them, Garrisons round about them, and by illegall Accusations, Blank Impeachments, threatning Remonstrances, and Declarations, &c. fright away many Members, and compell the rest to Vote and un-Vote what they please, whereby all the Parliament doth is void and null in Law *ab initio*, it being no free Parliament but a Sub-committee to the Army, and living as the Ægyptians did under vassalage to their own *Mamaluchi* or Mercenaries: The People therefore must resolve either to have *no Army*, or *no Peace*.

8. The two Universities destroyed.

8. They have put out the eyes of the Kingdome, the two Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and have brought the whole Land to make sport before them, knowing that *Learning* and *Religion*, as well as *Lawes* and *Liberties*, are enemies to their barbarous, irrationall, and Russian way of Government.

9. Many honest men seduced by fair pretences, took part with them; never intending to leave their first principles; and enslave King, and Kingdome.

9. Many honest men took part with this Parliament, seduced by those fair pretences of *defending Religion, Laws*, and *Liberties*, which they first held forth to the People; and being unwilling to have a *Parliament conquered* by *the Sword*, not thinking it possible that a *prevailing Faction* in *Parliament* should so far prevaricate as to *conspire to enslave King, Parliament, and Kingdome, to subvert the Laws, Liberties, and fundamentall Government of the Land* under which *they and their Posterity were, and were likely to be so happily governed*; *and betray Religion unto Hereticks and Schismaticks, and share the spoiles of the Common-wealth between them, and think of enriching themselves with them in forain Lands*; yet many at the beginning *much disliked*, that *Religion* should be used as an *ingredient* to the carrying on of a *Civill War*, and that *Schismaticks* should

ſhould have ſo great a ſtroak in managing the buſineſſe: yet were pacified with this conſideration, that we muſt refuſe no helps in our defence: if a man be aſſaulted by Thieves on the high way, he will not refuſe to joyne with Schiſmaticks or Turks in a common defence; the ſame authority that then countenanced thoſe Schiſmaticks (it was hoped) would be able to diſcountenance them againe when the work was done. But the *Grandees* of the Houſes, (having other deſignes) had ſo often purged the Houſes, that they left few honeſt moderate men in them to oppoſe their projects; ſtill bringing in Schiſmaticks and men of their owne intereſts, by enforced and undue Elections, into their rooms; and ſo by inſenſible degrees, new modelled the Houſe ſutable to their own corrupt deſires, and new modelled this Army accordingly: ſo that the people (who had no intention to be intereſted ſo far) were ſtep by ſtep ſo far engaged before they were aware; that they could not draw their feet back, and do now find (to their grief) that the Bit is in their mouths, the ſaddle faſt girt on their galled backs, and theſe Rank riders mounted, who will ſpur them (not only out of their Eſtates, Laws, and Liberties, but) into Hell with renewed Treaſons, new Oaths, Covenants and Engagements, if they take not the more heed, and be not the more reſolute: they have changed their old honeſt principles, and their old friends, who bore the firſt brunt of the buſineſſe, and have taken new principles and friends in their roome, ſutable to their preſent deſperate deſignes, and now (that they have ſqueezed what they can out of the Kings party) they think of ſequeſtring their old friends becauſe they adhere to their old principles.

10. Who are the King's bitteреſt enemies.

10. Amongſt thoſe that are moſt bitter againſt the King, His own Servants (eſpecially the *Judaſſes* of the Committee of the Revenue that carry His purſe, and have fingered more of His Mony and Goods then they can or dare give an account for) are the greateſt Zealots, thoſe that take upon them imployments about his Revenue, and ſhare what allowances to themſelves they pleaſe for their pains; thoſe that buy in for trifles old ſleeping Penſions, that have not been payed nor allowed this thirty year, and pay themſelves all arreares: thoſe that rent parcels of the Kings Revenue, for the eighth or tenth part of the worth, as *Cor: Holland*, who renteth for 200l. *per annum*, as much of his Eſtate as is worth

1600l.

1600l. or 1800l. *per annum:* Thus you ſee the *Lion* (Lord of the forreſt) growing *ſick and weake*, become a prey, and is *goared* by the *Oxe*, *bitten* by the *Dog*, yea and *kicked* by the *Aſſe:* Looke upon this *preſident* you *Kings* and *Princes*, and call to mind examples of old, that of *Nebuchadnezzer*, and others, *Leſt by exalting your ſelves too high, you provoke God to caſt you too low.*

11. Forged Conſpiracies and falſe Newes.

When the *Grandee Independents* have a deſire to *raiſe new Forces*, or *erect new Garriſons*, or uſe any *extremity againſt the City*, or *Royall party*; they commonly uſher in the deſigne with Reporting to the Houſe *the Diſcovery of ſome new invented Conſpiracy*, or *Plot full of danger and deſtruction*; ſuch as was that of *many thouſand conſecrated Knives:* and then propound their own forelaid *deſigne* as a counſellable way to prevent it. And he that doth not *haſtily believe their Informations*, or doth *argue againſt the Remedies they propound*, (though he ſhew never ſo great inconveniency in them) is preſently cried out upon as *a Malignant, that doth not take the danger of the Parliament to heart*, and branded by the *black tongues* of the *Godly:* and when any *great buſineſſe* is to be *treated of in Parliament*, or *City*, which they either *deſire to promote*, or *to obſtruct*, they commonly publiſh *counterfeit Newes*, and *Letters of great Victories and Succeſſes* gotten by *their Party* in parts ſo *remote* that they cannot in a *ſhort time* be *confuted*: this ſerves *to credit* and *animate their Party* to go on *boldly with their Worke*; and to *diſhearten their Opponents*: and though the profit and reputation of a *lie* is ſeldome long-lived, yet if it laſt ſome few daies, untill they have *carried on the preſent buſineſſe*, they care not: Herein they imitate a *skilfull Architector*, who building an *Arch*, ſupports it in the beginning with *circular props* and *pieces of timber*, until he hath cloſed it, and enabled it to ſupport it ſelf, and then throws away the *props*.

12. The Art of Slander and Calumny.

When they have a deſigne to *ruine any man:* before they fall openly upon *his perſon*, they *ſecretly undermine his credit and reputation*, that afterwards *they may oppreſſe him with applauſe*, and they are ſo excellently well fitted with *Agents* and *Inſtruments* for this purpoſe, that they can prove what they liſt: The *cloſe Committee of Examinations* is an excellent forge for theſe *contrivances*; they know where to find the *ſonnes* of *Belial* (now commonly called *Knights of the Poſt*) who will truſt God with their

ſouls

ſouls to advance *the good Cauſe*; they have *ſecret Examinations* of ſeverall ſorts, ſome *preparatory* onely; amounting but to ſuſpitions and preſumptions, to wound a mans good name, and make him liable to more deadly blowes hereafter: and ſome *conſummatory*, laying the Axe to the root at the firſt blow: nor is it a ſmall Artifice of theirs boldly to accuſe other men of thoſe *crimes* they themſelves are *guilty of*, as they did the 11 *Members* of *trucking with the* KING, being their own fault; by this means it doth *conſtare de re* preſently, it appears ſuch offences are committed: and if they can but fix them upon the perſons of other men by bold *Accuſations*, *cloſe Examinations*, and *falſe Witneſſes*; then *conſtat de perſona*, they have found men to perſonate them, deputies to beare the ignominy and puniſhment of their ſins: ſo ſome laſcivious perſons free themſelves, beſtowing their diſeaſes upon others.

13. What a Confiding man is.

They account no man a *Godly*, *faithfull*, *confiding man*, but he that engages as far in ſin, and makes himſelf as hopeleſſe of reconciliation as themſelves, *Quis nunc diligitur niſi conſcius?*

14. The laſt Retreat and Refuge of the Godly.

Since, the *revolt* of ſome of *their Ships* hath almoſt made them *hopeleſſe* of *tranſportation* to *foraine Plantations*: The *ſchiſmaticall Grandees* have made Col. *Walton* (Brother-in-law to *Cromwell*) Governour of *Lyn*, *Boſton*, and *Crowland*, and of all that levell of moraſſe Ground in the *Iſles of Ely*, *Holland*, and *Marſhland*, which they can lay under water at pleaſure: it is a plentifull and ſtrong faſtneſſe, able to feed 40000 men beſides the ordinary Inhabitants: there are but three paſſes to enter it, over 3 Bridges: upon which they have, or may build Forts for their defence; and may from thence invade the adjacent Country at pleaſure, being themſelves free from incurſions; or they may (if they liſt) break down the ſaid Bridges: Theſe places (already ſtrong by nature) they dayly fortifie by art; for which purpoſe great ſums of *money* have been ſent to him, and much *Arms*, *Powder*, *Ammunition*, and *Ordnance* from *Windſor-Caſtle*: Here (when all other helps fail) the *Godly mean to take Sanctuary*: this ſhall be their laſt *retreat*: from whence they will draw the whole Kingdome *to Parly upon Articles of Treaty*, and *enforce their peace from them at laſt*: Theſe are the *ſtratagems* of the *Godly*: Theſe are our *Saints*, no where *Canonized* but in the *Devils Calender*.

15. Supposititious Priviledges of Parliament: see *The History*, sect. 105, 106.

As the Church of *Rome* is never unfurnished with *dormant Articles of Faith* upon all emergent occasions; so the *Grandees* are never unprovided of *dormant Priviledges of Parliament* (which they call (by a new canting word) *lex Parliamenti*, in opposition to *lex Terræ*) with these they bolster out their designes: These Priviledges were much insisted on in their Impeachments of the Members and Aldermen: and whosoever pleads against them in his owne defence, and flies from those Priviledges to the known Laws for sanctuary, is cried out upon for overthrowing the Jurisdiction and Priviledges of Parliament, and therefore guilty of Malignancy: thus *John Lylburne* suffers, if he does not plead against them; he laies his head on the block at the mercy of these merciless men. This net caught many a wood-cock, untill the said Aldermen and Sir *John Maynard* broake through it, and spoiled the cock-road.

16. The confusion this Monarchy is brought unto: see *The History*, sect. 105, & 106.

The Grandees of the Parliament and Army have so totally subverted our fundamentall Government and Laws, that we have neither Monarchy nor Common-wealth left; *non jam Respublica, sed magnum latrocinium est*, we have not so much as a face and shadow of Government remaining; we have a KING *de jure*, but so wholly eclipsed and disabled to performe Acts of Government by his Close Imprisonment, that (for the present) we have no King *de facto*, and every man doth what seemeth good in his owne eyes: we have Magistrates, Judges, and Justices *de facto*, but not being constituted and ordained by any lawfull Authority, nor under any authenticall Great Seale according to the Lawes of the Land, they are not Magistrates and Judges *de jure*, so that if we look upon the King our supreme Governour, our violent Grandees have brought an *Inter-regnum* upon us; If upon our Magistrates, Judges, &c. they have brought a *Justitium* (a totall eclipse of justice) upon us: It followes then, that both the imperative and coercive power of the King and Magistrates, the legislative power of the Parliament, the judicative power of the Judges and Justices, are all suspended and in *Abeyance*: and like a Watch, when the principall wheeles are broken, no part can move to perform its function. *Contzenius* the Jesuite in his *Pol:* saies, *He that will introduce a new Religion, or a new form of Government, must utterly abolish the old; and erect his new Fabricke*

upon

upon the ruines of it: you ſee they have been apt Schollars in this doctrine of the Jeſuite this 7 years, which they have ſpent in Demoliſhing: but what forme of Government our Grandees will erect upon the ruines they have made, doth not yet appear, nor how all juſt Intereſts, and mens particular Eſtates ſhall be preſerved from being buried under the ruines of this earthquake.

17. The Regall, Legiſlative, & Iudicative power uſurped.

The KING is the only ſupreme Governour of this Realme of *England*, to regulate and protect the People by commanding the Lawes to be obſerved and executed; and to this end He (and He alone) beareth not the Sword in vaine: yet the KING by Himſelf can neither make, repeal, or alter any one Law, without the concurrence of both Houſes of Parliament, the *Legiſlative power* reſiding in all three, and not in any one, or two of the three Eſtates, without the third; and therefore no one or two of them can exclude the other from having a *Negative voice* in paſſing, repealing, or changing of Lawes: Nor can the King by Himſelf, or joyntly with the Lords and Commons judge *what the Law is*, this is the office of the ſworn Judges of the 2 Benches and Exchequer, who are the known Expoſitors, and Diſpenſers of *Law and Juſtice* in all Cauſes brought before them; yea, they doe declare *by what Law the King Governes*, thereby keeping the King from governing arbitrarily, and inſlaving the people. And theſe Judges of the Law have alwaies been authorized by the King; and all legall proceedings have been in His Name, and by His Authority 1200 yeares before *Magna Charta* granted, or any ſet forme of Parliament eſtabliſhed. The Law it ſelfe is called, *the Kings Law*; the Realme, *the Kings Realme*. He is the fountaine of *juſtice*, *mercy*, *honour*, witneſſe all our Statutes, Law-books, and Hiſtories, and the Oath of Supremacy, which every Member taketh before he ſits in Parliament. Now for any one man, or any Aſſembly, Court, or Corporation of men (be it the two Houſes of Parliament) to uſurp theſe three Powers: 1. The *Governing power*. 2. The *Legiſlative power*. 3. And the *Judicative power*, into themſelves, is to make themſelves the higheſt Tyrants, and the people the baſeſt Slaves in the world; for to govern ſupremely by a Law made, and interpreted by themſelves according to their own pleaſure, what can be more boundleſſe and arbitrary? they may put to death whom they pleaſe, for what cauſe they pleaſe,

and confiſcate his Eſtate to their own uſe: yet this the two Houſes of Parliament, or rather an over-powring Party in the two Houſes, ſeaſoned with a ſchiſmaticall humour of ſingularity, have lately done.

1. For the *Governing Power.* 1. They coyne, enhaunce, and abate money. 2. They make War and Peace, and continue an extraordinary Militia of an Army upon us. 3. They declare who are Enemies to the Realm. 4. They maintaine forraine negotiations. 5. They regulate matter of Trade, and exerciſe other Regalities: whereas all *Jura Regalia* belong onely to the King as Supreame Governour.

2. For the *Legiſlative Power.* They exclude the King from His Negative voice, and the two Houſes obtrude their Ordinances (things ſo new, that they are not pleadable in any Court of Juſtice) as Lawes upon the people; laying on Exciſe, Aſſeſments, and Taxes upon the people: They Vote and declare new Treaſons, not known by the Statute 25. *Edw.* 3. nor by any other known Law; yea even to make or receive any addreſſe to, or from the King; and they account it a Breach of Priviledge, if men do not believe it to be Treaſon, being once declared. They out men of their free-holds, and impriſon their Perſons, contrary to *Magna Charta*, by Ordinances of Sequeſtration, &c.

3. For the *Judicative Power*: They erect Infinite many of new Judicatoryes under them, as their Committees of Complaints, of ſecret Examinations, of Indemnities; their Country Committees, where buſineſſes are examined, heard, and determined without, nay againſt *Magna Charta*, and the known Lawes: Nay even in Capitall crimes they wave the Courts of Law, and all Legall proceedings by Outlawry, Indictment, or Tryall by *Peeres*, and *Bill of Attainder*; (which is the onely way of Tryall in Parliament. For the Parliament cannot judicially determine any thing, but by Act of Parliament) and ſet up new invented formes of proceeding before the Lords onely (even againſt free Commoners, although the Lords be not their *Peeres*) as in the caſe of the four Aldermen, &c. and the *Arch-biſhop* of *Canterbury*: They defend theſe doings by a pretended neceſſity of their own making: But when the King had neither Army nor Garriſon in the Kingdome, and thereby this neceſſity was removed; why did they not (to prevent

vent Tumults, Inſurrections, and a new war) content the people, and returne all things into their old Channell, and reſtore to the people their Religion, Lawes, and liberties, being their firſt principles, for which they engaged them to ſpend their blood and Treaſure, and for defence whereof, they engaged themſelves and us in a Covenant with hands lifted up to the High God? why did they then provoke the *Scots* to a new war? but that they might have occaſion to keep up their Army ſtill, and inthrall the Kingdome: Look upon their Doctrine, as well as their aforeſaid practiſes, and you will find that all they do, is but to carry on afore-laid deſigne, to lay by the King, and enſlave the people, under the new erected Kingdome of the Saints; the Grandees of *Derby-Houſe* and the Army. In the Declaration againſt the *Scots* Papers, *p.* 67. They have adjudged the King unfit to Governe. And *p.* 70. they ſay, the Power of the Militia was the principall cauſe of their war and quarrel with the King; and in their Declaration againſt the King, they ſay, they cannot confide in Him. It hath been commonly ſpoken in the Houſe of Commons, that the two Houſes, nay the Houſe of Commons alone, is the Supream Power of this Nation under God. 16 *March*, 1642. Both Houſes Voted it a High Breach of Priviledge of Parliament, for any Perſon (not excepting King or Judge) to oppoſe their Commands, or to deny that to be Law, which the two Houſes declared to be ſo. In their Declaration againſt the *Scots* Papers, *p.* 63. the Members ſay: That in all matters either concerning Church or State, we have no Judge upon earth but themſelves, who will account the *Popes* plenitude of Power monſtrous hereafter, that ſhall obſerve this Doctrine and practiſe of ſubjects in Parliament, clayming and exerciſing a Supream Government, (whereof the Militia is a part) a Legiſlative and Judicative Power over the Conſciences, lives, liberties, and eſtates of their fellow ſubjects: And all this under colour of a neceſſity, raiſed by themſelves out of a diſpute they ſet on foot againſt the King, which they have affirmatively adjudged and determined for themſelves againſt Him; without conſulting the Lawes, Statutes, and uſages of the Realme: Nay the very Oaths of Supremacy and Alleageance, which all with one voice ſpeak againſt them; who would think that a faction in Parliament, or any peſt leſſe then an Earth-quake

or Deluge, ſhould in ſeven yeers time reduce ſo well-formed a Common-wealth into ſuch a *Chaos*? Yet even now the people are promiſed to be Governed by the known Lawes, and Judges are appointed to determine ſuits according to the Lawes. Surely there never was Tyrant that deprived his Vaſſals of a known law amongſt themſelves; this were to diſable them to acquite wealth, and ſo loſe his own benefit of Taxes and Confiſcations. By the Lawes of England, a villaine was protected in his goods againſt all men, his Lord excepted: The *Turkiſh* vaſſals heap up much wealth, and are protected againſt their fellow-ſlaves, though not againſt their Grand Seigneor who may ſeize their eſtates, and take their lives at pleaſure: And this is all the protection the people of *England* have now by the Lawes: We have the benefit of Law one againſt another, (unleſſe ſome Powerful member interpoſe) but againſt the two Houſes, or either of them, or any Grandee, what Law, what Juſtice, can protect our lives, liberties or eſtates? and yet we were allowed heretofore to make our defence in Law againſt the King. And untill the King be again reſtored to his Right, expect no better Right to be done you by this heedleſſe head-ſtrong Faction in Parliament.

18. The ſinfull Scope of the Grandees endeavours.

The ſumme of all their indeavours is no more but this; The Grandees of *Derby-houſe* and the Army have already by their Votes of *no addreſſes*, and their Scandalous Declaration *laid by the King*; *and in Him, Monarchy*, (notwithſtanding they delay and fool the people with tedious debates of a Perſonall Treaty) And *when this innovation is digeſted* by the people, their next ſtep will be to make uſe of the Schiſmaticall, Antimonarchicall party in the Houſe of Commons, Army and City, *to caſt off the Houſe of Peers as* Prerogative creatures and rags of Royalty: (ſome Schiſmaticall Plebeian Lords excepted, who ſhall recruit the Power they loſe in the Houſe of Lords, by being of the Committee of *Derby-houſe*) and when the people are well inured to this change, and the grievance of it worne out by Cuſtome; then *to lay by the Houſe of Commons, and uſurp the full Power of the King and Parliament into the* Committee of ſafety at *Derby-houſe*, who by way of preparation, do already ſtile themſelves in all forrain negotiations, The STATES: Nay they do already act all matters of moment at home, and aſſume unto themſelves all the properties

of

of a State, the Parliament being but a Sub-Committee to them, upon whom they put what Impoſitions and injunctions they pleaſe, witneſſe the deſigne put upon the Houſe of Commons *for every Member to ſubſcribe what number of Horſe he would maintain for a Guard*; I know not whether to the Parliament, or to the Committee of *Derby-houſe*.

19. The Prognoſtick of this diſeaſe.

This diſeaſe being now come to its Criſis; it is no hard matter to prognoſticate, That nature (that is, the King, our natural liege Lord) muſt inevitably prevaile at laſt againſt this Antimonarchicall Faction; for theſe reaſons:

1. The KING can never want a Party: the Parliament (or rather Antimonarchical faction in Parliament) can never manage a party without faction and confuſion.

2. The KING may husband His Treaſure to His beſt advantage: the Faction in Parliament cannot, but muſt neceſſarily be cheated; that they may be followed and befriended: ſince only common crimes, and common profit glues and cements them together: and only ſuch are found to be confiding men to them.

3. The KING is now diſcovered (to every common capacity) to have all the known Lawes of His ſide: the Parliament all the known Laws againſt them; and the people will no longer be governed without Law, by new arbitrary inventions.

4. The KING hath recovered all the peoples affections: the Parliament hath loſt them; a privation which can never be reduced into habit againe.

5. The KING is allyed both in Conſanguinity of Bloud, and affinity of Cauſe with all the Princes of Chriſtendome: the Faction in Parliament are *terræ filii, fraterculi Gigantum*, Muſhromes.

6. The KING's Army will obey Him and His Intereſt: the Parliaments Army will command them and their Intereſt; beſides, they are men of different Principles and Intereſts, onely held together by profit; and when that fails, they fall in ſunder.

Nothing therefore but a free *Perſonall Treaty* in *London* can prevent a Conqueſt: whatſoever deſperate forlorne people ſay to the contrary.

The

The Epilogue.

I Am not Ignorant that there is a naturall purging, a naturall phlebotomy, belonging to Politique, as well as to Naturall bodies: and that some good humours are alwaies evacuated with the bad; yet I cannot but deplore what I have observed, That the honestest and justest men of both sides (such as, if they have done evill, did it because they thought it good; such as were carried aside with specious pretences, and many of them seduced by pulpit-Devils, who transformed themselves into Angels of light) have alwaies fared worse then other men, as if this difference between the King and Parliament were but a syncretismus *or illusion against honest men: nay, I doe farther foresee, that in the period and closing up of this Tragedy, they will fare worst of all, because they have not taken a liberty to inrich themselves with publike spoiles, and fat themselves by eating out the bowels of their mother, but are grown lean and poor by their integrity; whereby being disabled to buy friendship in the daies of trouble, they will be put upon it, to pay other mens reckonings. When* Verres *was Prætor of* Sicily, *he had with wonderfull corruptions pillaged that Province; and at the same time the Prætor of* Sardinia *being sentenced for depeculating and robbing that Province,* Timarchides, Verres *correspondent at* Rome, *writ a very anxious Letter to him, giving him warning of it: But* Verres *in a jolly humour answered him,* that the Prætor of *Sardinia* was a foole, and had extorted no more from the Sardinians then would serve his owne turne; but himself had gathered up such rich booties amongst the Sicillians, that the very overplus thereof would dazle the eyes of the Senate, and blind them so, that they should not see his faults: *Such (I foresee) will be the lot of the more just and modest men, who shall be guilty because they were fools; as the other sort shall be innocent because they were knaves: whatsoever befalls (you clear and innoxious soules) be not ashamed, be not afraid of your integrity: if this Kingdome be a fit habitation for honest men, God will provide you a habitation here: if it be not capable of honesty, God will take you away from the evils to come,*

come, and poure out all the Vials of his wrath on this totally and univerſally corrupted Nation, this incurable people; Qui nec vitia ſua nec eorum remedia ferre poteſt: *for my owne part, (if I am not ſuch already) I hope God will make me ſuch a man,* Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent; *and if* Moſes *in a heroick zeale, to draw a remiſſion of the peoples ſin from God, deſired to be blotted out of his Booke (the Booke of Life) and Saint* Paul *to be* Anathema *for his Brethren, Why ſhould not I (with relation to my ſelf, and ſubmiſſion to Chriſt) ſay,* oportet unum mori pro populo, *it is fit one man die for the people, and devote my ſelf to death for my Countrey, as the family of the* Decii *in ancient* Rome *were wont to do? I have read and admired their examples, why not imitate them? is it becauſe (as* Machiavell *ſaith) The Chriſtian Religion doth too much breake, enfeeble, and cowardize the ſpirit of man, by perſecuting and ſubduing nature, by denying her due Liberty, and tying her to be more paſſive then active:* At facere & pati fortia Romanum, imo Chriſtianum eſt: *or is it becauſe in this generall deluge of ſin and corruption, a publicke ſpirit, and excellency in virtue is accounted a degree of madneſſe? or is it becauſe of the corrupt Judgement of theſe times, which makes a man more infamous for his puniſhment, then for his ſinne? and therefore Heroicke acts are out of faſhion: the circumſtances and ceremonies of Death, are more taken notice of then Death it ſelfe: theſe follies weigh not with me.* Sublimis an humi putreſcam, parvi refert, *The Thiefe upon the Croſſe found a ready way to Heaven: How much more an honeſt man? Many a man out of Priſon ſteps into Heaven, no man out of Paradiſe ever found the way thither*: Salebroſa ſit via, modo certa, modo expedita; alte ſuccinctus ad iter me accingo.

THe premiſes conſidered, I doe here in the name and behalfe of all the free Commons of *England*, declare and proteſt, that there is no free nor legall *Parliament* ſitting in *England*; but that the two Houſes ſit under a viſible, actuall, and a horrid force of a mutinous *Army*, and of a ſmall party of both Houſes conſpiring and engaged with the ſaid *Army*, to deſtroy, expell, and murder, with falſe Accuſations, and Blank and illegall Impeachments and proſecutions, the reſt of their fellow-Members,

who ſate in *Parliament* doing their duty, when the two Speakers with a ſmall company of Members, ſecretly fled away to the *Army*, and ſate in Councel with them, contriving how to enſlave *King*, *Parliament*, *City*, and *Kingdome*, and how to raiſe Taxes at their pleaſure, which they ſhare amongſt themſelves and their party, under the name and title of *the Godly*, *the Saints*: And afterwards they brought the *Army* up to *London* againſt the *Parliament* and *City* in hoſtile manner; a deſigne farre exceeding the Plot of *Jermine*, *Goring*, *&c.* to bring up the *Northerne Army to* London *to over-awe the Parliament*: I doe farther proteſt, that the two Houſes have ſate under the ſaid force, ever ſince the 6 of *Auguſt*, 1647. and therefore all they have done, and all they ſhall doe, in the condition they ſit in, is *void* and *null* in Law, *ab initio*, by their owne doctrine and judgment included in their Ordinance of the 20 of *Auguſt* laſt; whereby they *null* and *void*, *ab initio*, all Votes, Orders, &c. paſſed from the 26 *July*, 1647. to the 6 *Auguſt* following.

Arguments againſt all Accommodation and Treaties, between the City of London, *and the ingaged Grandees of the Parliament and Army.*

1. *IT will never be ſafe nor honourable, for ſo great a City to accomodate and joyne intereſt with a conſpiring Party, that by frequent violations of their faith and duty, have inſlaved King, Parliament, City and Kingdome, and broken the Faith of this Nation, given to the Scots in the large Treaties, and in the Nationall Covenant.*

2. *By accomodating with them, you make all their crimes your own, their ſubtilty being to involve you to joyne with them in defence of their crimes.*

3. *The Scottiſh quarrell is not againſt the Engliſh Nation, but againſt the trecherous and hypocriticall Grandees, who by perjuring themſelves, and falſifying their ingagements both unto Kingdome and Army, keeping the Souldiers by falſe ſuggeſtions from diſbanding, and totally obſtructing Irelands reliefe; and alſo a conſpiring*

party

party in Parliament, who keep them up to make good the aforeſaid crimes, forcing what Votes they pleaſe to paſſe, by over-awing the Parliament: Witneſſe Cromwels laying his hand upon his ſword, and forcing the Houſe to paſſe thoſe traiterous Votes againſt the King, contrary to their own conſciences, Allegiance, Proteſtations, Vow and Covenant, and to raiſe Taxes upon the people, which they ſhare amongſt themſelves. This warre is not likely to be of any continuance, conſidering there being in the Army many conſcientious men, who have had ſuch ample experiment of the falſhood of their Grand Officers, that they are not like to hazard their lives again under the command of ſuch Grand Impoſtors as they are; alſo knowing the generall hatred of the Kingdome to them, under whoſe inſupportable burdens and oppreſſions it groaneth. Nor have we any way to break the Power of the ſaid Grandees of this Army, but by the Scots, whereby the juſt Rights and Intereſts of all three Kingdomes may be ſetled, and Ireland relieved: All which the Scots have declared in their former Papers delivered to both Houſes of Parliament.

4. If you accommodate with this Faction, you muſt have the ſame friends and foes with them, as well as the ſame ſins and quarrels; and then it will grow to a Nationall quarrell between England and Scotland, which will be of long continuance and miſery: and the Intereſt of the King and his Children, and of all Princes of Chriſtendome concerned in the example, will be carried on in the Kingdome of Scotland againſt you, if you joyne with thoſe beggerly Grandees, who have inriched themſelves and their fellow-Impoſtors by the ruines of the Kingdome. You will loſe your credit and Intereſts with your friends and brethren of Scotland; the onely feare and terror of whoſe coming into England, kept this Faction (which all men know is never ſatisfied with money and blood) from taking many of your innocent heads from off your ſhoulders: and confiſcating your eſtates to pay the arrears of the Army: witneſſe their often ſpeeches to this purpoſe in the Houſe of Commons, and their illegall and violent proceedings againſt you: you will likewiſe loſe all the people of England.

I have ſhewed you your loſſes; let me ſhew you your gaines by this accomodation; that by comparing one with the other, you may caſt up your account, whether you ſhall be gainers or loſers by it.

1. They offer you the Tower of London, and your Militia to be reſtored (things of no great conſideration) and your Aldermen and

Citizens to be set at liberty: they do not offer to disband their Army, which makes them Lord it over you, and over-power both Tower and Militia; and when they have divided you from all your friends, and destroyed your reputation, and are secure from the Scots, the same violence which at first took your Tower, your Militia, and your most honest Citizens from you, can deprive you of them all again at pleasure, when you shall have none to stick by you: your obligations to them shall be of steel, theirs to you but of straw: he that gives me that he can deprive me of at pleasure, gives me nothing.

2. Cromwell *and his Party knew your City to be the entire strength of England. In* Rich. 2. *dayes, (when it was not half so great and populous as now) it slew* Wat Tyler *and routed his rabble, six times as many in number as the Army. They therefore feare you, and consequently hate you, and labour nothing more then to divide and weaken you, which is their proper interest: For which purpose (to divide the City in it selfe) they caused the Parliament to change your Militia into other hands: they cut off Westminster, Southwarke, and the Hamlets from your* Militia, *to weaken it, they have divided you from the Parliament, they have endeavoured to divide the Countrey from you,* Ut dividendo singula, imperent universis. *Wherefore the Army in their Remonstrance* 7. Decemb. 1647. *Insolently demand Reparations from the City to the Countrey adjacent, for above* 100000 l. *losse sustained through the Armies attendance on the Cities defaults; which Was a device onely to make the Countrey quarrel with the City, and to make the Army Umpiers.*

3. *Consider, you shal joyne With them that never keep Faith longer then they may gain by it, whereof you have many examples. Any honest man may be deceived once, but he is a fool that will be deceived twice by one man.*

4. *Nay you cannot treat with these men, nor give them a Common Councell, or Hall, without losse and danger: They have alwaies made lies their refuge, and built their designes upon the sandy foundations of Rumors and Tables.*

Cromwell *and* Glover *already give out, that they and you are as good as agreed, that you differ onely upon a puntilio of honour, which will soon be reconciled: what is the meaning of this? but that they (having creatures of their own, Commissioners in Scotland) they have advertisement to spread the same reports there, thereby to take*

off

off the edge of your friends affections; to lay an imputation of inconſtancy upon you, and make you inconſiderable in the judgements of your beſt friends, and retard all indeavours for your ſuccour. In the meane time, this party hath blocked up all paſſages to Scotland, that truth can have no acceſſe to you, and you have onely ſuch newes as Darby-houſe doth pleaſe to impart to you. Theſe men have commited thoſe crimes, that cannot be ſafe without committing greater: they muſt on head-long: go not with them for company; they deſire to beſtow their plague-ſores upon others. Let it not trouble you, that the Parliament hath approved their ſubſcription of the Ingagement with the Army; it was a Vote extorted in a thin houſe, many Members having been driven away by threats of the Army before; and there were many diſſenting Members. A little patience and conſtancy will ſettle you in a laſting peace.

To petition the Houſes to repeale their four Votes againſt the King, is to ſave their reputation, that ſeek to deſtroy yours.

A ſeaſonable Caution to the City of London.

Gentlemen of the City,

YOur Neighbours of *Kent*, and other Counties, wiſhing well to them, take it unkindly, that (notwithſtanding all theſe former admonitions) you ſhould let down your chains, and give a free march to this bloudy, cheating, ſchiſmaticall Army at all hours of the night through your City to cut their throats, and lend them 6000l. to enable them to march: when they had no other deſigne, but in a peaceable way to deliver a Petition to the Houſes, demanding nothing but what the Parliament by their Declarations, Covenant, the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and the known Lawes of the Land ought to grant. Onely, being fore-warned by the inhumane aſſacination of the *Surrey* Petitioners, they had ſome men in Armes a ſufficient diſtance from the Town, to ſecure their Meſſengers: They have by their Letters to your ſelves and the Houſes manifeſted the cleerneſſe of their intentions to you all. They are known to be men of ſetled habitations and fortunes (for the moſt part) not Vagabonds and Souldiers of Fortune like the Army: Their commerce with you

help you both to trade and feed: whereas the Armies inſolent march in triumph through your City ſo far leſſened your reputation ever ſince, that you conſtantly loſe in your Trading 200000l. a Weeke, and no Bullion comes into the Mint; whereby multitudes of you are undone, and yet the Armies Arrears, and all other Taxes are exacted from you with as much cruelty, as if you loſt nothing. Remember the Butchery committed upon the unarmed Apprentices, when *Cromwell* cried to the Souldiers *to kill man, woman, and child, and fire the City*; at which time his Noſe looked as prodigiouſly upon you as a Comet.

Remember the ſcorn put upon you by a Grandee when you were enabled to put up your Chains again; That the Houſe had conſented, your Poſts ſhould have Chaines as well as your Aldermen, and did as well deſerve them. And *Weaver's* word when your Guards came to attend the Houſe, *that 60 of the Army ſhould beat 300 of them*.

Remember how unwillingly & juglingly they reſtored unto you the *Tower* (firſt plundered of all its Amunition you formerly had in it) and part only of your *Militia*, and that clogged with many reſtrictions: They that beſtow gifts ſo grudgingly upon you when they are weak, will deprive you of them again when they are ſtrong. Adverſity makes them your falſe friends, Proſperity your reall Enemies, Neceſſity only ties them to you: have a care therefore you do not relieve their neceſſities, leſt you loſe them; like the frozen Snake in the boſome, when they grow warm they will bite and ſting.

You ſeem to have forgotten the unjuſt Impriſonment of your Aldermen; The unfaithfulneſſe and inconſtancy of their Votes and Ordinances, even for ſecurity of Money, and Land bought: the ſeverall Informations and Teſtimonies you had of their good intentions to borrow more of your Mony; not by way of Loane, nor upon the Publick Faith, but by way of Plunder. Notwithſtanding, all theſe injuries, and many more, (as if God had infatuated you, to deſtroy you) you ſuffer a corrupt Faction within you to Liſt men (to the amazement of your neighbour Counties) whoſe Principles you firſt examine; and if they be not *Independents*, you truſt them not with Armes. I hear of a young man, who being asked, *of what Principles he was?* he anſwered, *that in*

theſe

theſe doubtfull times he profeſſed no Principle but gain: to whom was replied, *Then we are of one Principle, for we are reſolved to keep what we have got.* Behold the Principles of theſe men that obſtruct our peace! conſider that Heaven and Earth have denounced War againſt theſe men, and that God himſelf hath touched the hearts of all men as one man to riſe againſt them, and demand to have Peace, Religion, and Juſtice reſtored. When the whole Kingdome ſhall riſe in a flame, what will be your lot but ſmoake in your eyes, and at laſt a conſuming fire in your bowels? when you onely ſhall be left to maintain this domineering Army with your mony, and to recruit them with your bloud? Many of their Officers ſay already, *That the Countrey is exhauſted of Money, and you ſhall be their Purſe-bearers:* but becauſe you are a curſt Cow, they muſt keep the *Army* about you, that the Souldiers may hold you by the *hornes* whilſt their friends milk you.

Conſider how abſolute a neceſſity, and how generall a reſolution there is, that all things ſhould return to their old channell: If you ſtop the violence of this Torrent, it will ſwell until it overwhelm and drown you. You that are guiltleſſe, joyne not with the guilty: you that are guilty, ſin no more: there will be mercy for you if you repent, and amend in time. The very multitude of offenders will help to excuſe your offences: Let not deſpair hurry you from one ſin to another untill you fall into deſtruction, as it did *Judas*, whoſe deſpair (by all Divines) is held to be a greater impiety then his treachery: by the firſt, he ſinned againſt the God-head of Chriſt; by the ſecond, againſt his Manhood onely.

The Remonſtrance and Declaration of the Knights, Eſquires, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, in COLCHESTER.

PEtitions (the birth-right of Subjects) are by Law our addreſſes to our King, (Gods Vice-gerent) *by cuſtome our approaches to the Houſes of Parliament (His Majeſties great Councel,) by them we uſed humbly to preſent our modeſt deſires, and were wont to receive anſwers (as* Gideons *fleece the dew) without noiſe, yet ſatisfactory;*

factory; but that was denied our first Petition, and before our second could be ready, our brethren of Surrey *by theirs eccho'ed our prayer to both Houses of Parliament, but received their answer (as the Jewes their Law) in thunder and Lightning, a two-edged sword the tongue, and the report of Muskets the voice, which spake nothing but wounds and death.*

We *therefore thus admonished, resolved thus to present our grievances to the World, and our petitions to heaven, for a blessing upon our intended indeavours.*

Our grievances are these:

1. *First, the distraction and threatned ruine of our glorious* Protestant Church, *the neglect and abuse of* Religion, *the destruction of our* Universities, *(the springs of all Learning, Divine and Humane) occasioned by the fierce & ignorant Separatist, set up & maintained as Rulers both in Church and State, by the prevalency and violence of a rebellious and destructive Army, under the command of the L.* Fairfax, *and countenanced by the seeming Authority of a pack, unfree, and over-awed House of Parliament.*

2. *Next, that contrary to the Oath and duty of Allegiance, (from which no power can, nor yet hath pretended to absolve us) our Soveraigne Lord the King is by the designe of the said Army, drawne from His House at* Hampton Court *to the* Isle of Wight, *and there by the power of Col.* Hammond *and others of the* Army, *Imprisoned, and detained from His Parliament; by which act the said* Hammond *and all adhering to him, are according to the Votes passed in both Houses,* 16 March, 1641. Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdome.

3. *A third is, the violent and unchristian separation of the* King, His royall Consort and Children, *at once depriving His Majesty of the two first blessings bestowed on Man.*

4. *The forcing the* Queen *and* Prince of Wales, *to seek in a foraine Nation, What in their own they could not enjoy,* liberty, safety, and support.

5. *The exercise of* Martiall Law *while the Courts of Justice are open, and sitting at* Westminster, *the obstructing justice in our Courts of Judicature, and by the private Committee of Indemnity perverting judgment, and exercising arbitrary power, which is a* subversion *of our ancient Lawes, and an introducing of a* tyrannicall government,

&c.

government, *as was resolved by both Houses in the Cases of the Earl of* Strafford, *and Archb: of* Canterbury, *and writ it in their bloud.*

6. *Sixtly, the present mischief and future danger to the whole Kingdome, by reason that the publique affaires of highest concern, are managed and carried on by a few particular men in a private Committee at* Derby-house, *wherein (contrary to the self-denying Ordinance) the prime Actors are chief Officers of the Army, and have by our unhappy differences, possest themselves of the most beneficiall Offices and imployments of the Kingdome; and the other Places of profit and commodity, are by their designe conferred on others, Members of the Army and Houses of Parliament, to purchase their compliance and Votes in all matters agitated in the Houses of Parliament: by reason whereof all motions* for His Majesties returne to His Parliament *(the first step to our desired Peace) have been either totally rejected, or by them politickly delaied, because Peace would determine both their* power *and* profit.

7. *The* Estates of Delinquents, *the* Lands of Bishops, Deanes and Chapters, *(designed by severall Ordinances for discharge of* publique Debts*) are by the Houses and power of the Army shared and divided among themselves, while the* publique Debts *be unsatisfied, the common Souldier unpayed, the maymed unrelieved, the Widow and Children of the slaine unprovided for, and all left burdens to the Common-wealth.*

8. *That the Army consisting of mean, ignorant, and illiterate men, (only gilt with hypocrisie, divine and civill) under pretence of* tender Consciences *(the better to induce and tolerate all Heresies) have expelled and suppresst all* learned Orthodox Divines, & Church Government, *and crying* Liberty, liberty, *have subjected our Persons and Estates to arbitrary Law and tyranny; and by Rape imbracing the* Legislative power, *cuckolds the* body politick, *giving Lawes to the* whole Kingdome, *and yet by* Petitions *and* Remonstrances *make both Houses* father *(as their own) the* adulterous issue.

9. *That this Army assuming to themselves the modelling and setlement both of Church and State, at* Windsor *in* April *last, in their Councell did consult these* 3 *Questions.*

First, Whether shall we joine with the Levellers, and new modell both Church and State?

Next, Whether with the moderate Party, Treat, and receive

the KING with more qualified and limited Power.

Thirdly, Whether Depose the KING, Disinherit the PRINCE, Crowne the DUKE of *Yorke*, and appoint a Protectour.

The first was held to promise most of liberty *and* profit; *but threatned greatest* danger in effecting, *and* difficulty in continuing.

The second was said to be easiest obtained *and* continued, *because nigheſt to the present frame and constitution already setled, but would bring them* little of profit, *and* lesse of Soveraignty.

The third (like Benjamin, *last in birth, but first in the Parents affections) was held* not difficult to be acted, *but to be* maintained, *for it would require both the expence of much bloud and money, and the Kingdome to re-act* Yorke *and* Lancaster, *under the names of* Wales *and* Yorke.

To this Lieutenant Generall Cromwell *answered*, It was the better, for that would necessitate the continuance of our Army, which secures our persons, will enforce our reasons, make just our demands, and facilitate their grant, (for the bloud, that will flow from the cheap veines of Common Souldiers, whereof *England* hath plenty, and we will not want) For the Money, *London* is our bank, and from their Purses it shall drain to our Coffers.

Commissary Ireton, *Lieut. Gen:* Cromwel's *Son-in-law, said*, The work was half done; for we have already voted *no Addresses to be made to the* KING, and Him guilty of crimes enough to Depose Him, and by Imprisoning His Person, have fitted Him for a private life, and by it taught the people that He is subject to the dispose of both Houses of Parliament; whose Ordinances are onely powerfull by *our Swords*, and therefore our Actions shall be legall by their Vote. Further, the *Prince* (said he) is link'd with his Father in crime, and therefore cannot be severed in punishment; he hath been Generall in a Westerne Army, warring (as his Father) against the Parliament, a crime that as it rendred the Father fit to be Deposed, so doth it the Son unfit to succeed in the Government. And that the discent of the Crown purge not him, (as it did *Hen.* 7.) let us in the Fathers life time Crown the *Duke of Yorke*, now in our power, whose tender years have preserved him innocent, and presents him fitter for protection

and

and our deſigne, and ſhould any blame our ſeverity towards the *King* and *Prince*, others will commend our clemency towards the *Duke of Yorke*.

Upon the reſult of this Councell, L. Gen: Cromwell *in the Houſe of Commons, tels Mr Speaker,* That it was time to ſet on foot our great deſigne, and that ſuch as ſhould not concur in Votes with us, be not continued of us.

The motion being miſ-timed, and divers of his Party abſent, it Was only wondred at by Maſter Knightly, *and died with the words. The Scene now alters from* Weſtminſter *to* Carisbrooke Caſtle, *and the King that could not be removed by* Votes, *muſt now by* Poyſon, *the Actor Col.* Hammond, *Major* Rolfe, &c. *all Members of the Army; yet muſt we by curſed* Exciſe *that inſenſibly devours the poor by inſupportable* Monthly Taxes, *that impoveriſh the rich, contrary to Law and our Allegiance, contrary to our Proteſtation and Covenant (inforced upon us) we muſt trayterouſly maintain and pay this Army that trayterouſly contrive and endeavour the depoſall and murder of our Soveraigne Lord the King, the ſubverſion of our Proteſtant Church, our Fundamentall and known Lawes.*

We therefore declare to the world, that God bleſſing us, we will with hazard of our lives and fortunes, diſband and diſcipate this Army, the Suppreſſors of the pure Proteſtant Religion; *the Impriſoners, and would be the murtherers of their Soveraigne Lord the King, and grand Oppreſſors of the Common-wealth; then free from Impriſonment our ſaid Soveraign, and him (God willing) reſtore to His lawfull* Government, juſt Rights, and Throne in Parliament, *this done, we ſhall joyfully and readily depoſite our juſtly aſſumed Armes, and on our knees beg what His Majeſty hath often moſt gratiouſly offered, and will undoubtedly grant His moſt Royall and gratious pardon to all His miſ-led Subjects, willing to return to their Allegiance, and forward to* bring the King back to His own Houſe.

We therefore hereby earneſtly deſire and requeſt all loyall and well-affected Subjects, as well Members of both Houſes of Parliament as others, to be herein aiding and aſſiſting to us. Firſt, by not recruiting the Forces of the Lord Fairfax. *Next, by withdrawing all aide and aſſiſtance from his Army, by with-holding* Exciſe *and* Monthly taxes *allotted for their Pay and ſupport, and to give us with their prayers ſuch aſſiſtance as their Allegiance and opportunity ſhall adviſe; and*

we truſt that the God that judgeth rightly Will crown our loyall action with happy ſucceſſe, and our ſucceſſe with a glorious Peace, which is heartily prayed for, and ſhall (God willing) be reſolutely fought for by us, His Majeſties loyall and faithfull Subjects in Colcheſter.

A Liſt of the Names of the Members of the Houſe of Commons: Obſerving which are Officers of the Army, contrary to the ſelf-denying Ordinance: Together with ſuch ſums of Money, Offices, and Lands, as they have given to themſelves for ſervice done, and to be done againſt the KING *and Kingdome.* Corrected and augmented.

Note, *Reader*, that ſuch as have this mark [*] comming immediately before their Names, are Recruiters; illegally elected, by colour of the New Seale, the power of the Army, and voices of the Souldiers, and are un-duly Returned, and ſerve accordingly.

The firſt Century.

1. *William Lenthall*, Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; worth 2000 l. *per an.* Beſide rewards for courteſies, (not to ſay Bribes) Maſter of the Rolls, worth 3000 l. *per an.* beſide the ſale of Offices: Chamberlain of *Cheſter* in the Earle of *Darbies* place: And untill of late Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, worth 1230 l. *per an.* and one of the Commiſſioners of their great Seal, worth 1500 l. *per an.* and had 6000 l. given him at one time by the Houſe.

2. *Bulſtrod Whitlock*, Commiſſioner of the great Seal, worth 1500 l. *per an.* and had 2000 l. given him out of Mr. *George Mann's* eſtate.

3. *Edmond Prideaux*, formerly a Commiſſioner for the great Seal, worth 1500 l. *per an.* Now by Ordinance, practiſes within the Bar, as one of the Kings Councell, worth 500 l. *per an.* and is Poſt-maſter for all Inland Letters, worth 100 l. every Tueſday night, beſide his ſupper, and it was thus got: The Lord *Stanhop*, the

the Post-masters, and Carriers of *England* complained in Parliament, against Mr. *Witherings* and others, touching the carrying of Letters: Whereupon the benefit of forraign Letters were given to the Earl of *Warwick*, worth 5000 l. *per an.* and the Inland Letters to Mr. *Prideaux*, *good Parliament Justice.*

4. *Roger Hill* a Barester of the Temple in no practice, nor of a considerable estate; till this Parliament: Hath now from the House, the Bishop of *Winchestor's Mannor* of *Taunton-Deane*, being the best of *England*; and worth 1200 l. *per an.* when the estates for lives determine.

5. *Humphrey Salway*, the Kings remembrancer in Mr. *Fanshawe's* place, worth 200 l. *per annum.*

6. *Francis Rous*, Provost of *Eaton*, in Dr. *Stewards* place; worth 600 l. *per annum*, and hath got a Colledge Lease worth 600 l. *per annum.*

7. *John Lisle*, Barrester of the Temple, Master of St. *Croosses*, in Dr. *Lewes* his place; being a place for a Divine; and worth 800 l. *per annum.*

8. *Oliver* St. *John*, by Ordinance both Attorney and Solicitor to the King; worth what he please to make it; and hath the passing of all Pardons, upon Commissions; worth 40000 l.

9. Sir *William Allison*, Alderman of *York*, Clark of the Hamper; worth 1000 l. *per an.* he hath *Crabbe-Castle*, worth 600 l. *per an.* Sometimes the Bishop of *Yorkes* in *York-shire.*

10. *Thomas Hoile*, Alderman of *York*, Treasurers Remembrancer in the Exchequor in Sir *Peter Osborne's* place; worth 1200 l. *per an.*

11. *Thomas Pury* Senior, first a *Weaver in Gloceſter*; then an ignorant Countrey Soliciter, had 3000 l. given him, and Mr. *Gerrard's* place in the Petty-bag; worth 400 l. *per an.*

12. *Thomas Pury* Junior, Son to the Elder, received of the Kings Rents in *Gloceſter* and *Wilts* Clark of the Peace of *Gloceſter-shire*; worth 200 l. *per an.* and Captain of Foot and Horse, the first yeer of this Parliament; servant to Mr. *Towneshed*; an Attorney of *Staple* Inne.

13. *William Ellis*, Steward of *Stepney*; worth 200 l. *per an.* and by him sold to one of the Temple.

14. *Miles Corbet*, at the beginning of the Parliament 3000 l.

in debt for himselfe and his Mother, more then he was worth; Now one of the Registers in Chancery; worth 7001. *per an.* besides Chair-man for scandalous Ministers, worth 1000 l. *per an.* And hath money in his purse.

15. *John Goodwine*, the other Register in Chancery; worth 700l. *per annum.*

16. Sir *Thomas Widdrington*, a Commissioner of the great Seal; worth 1500 l. *per an.*

17. *Edward Bishe*, Garter Herauld, in Sir *Edward Walkers* place, worth 600 l. *per an.*

18. * *Walter Strickland*, Agent in Holland for the two Houses of Parliament worth to him 5000 l.

19. *Nicholas Love*, Mr. Speakers Chamber-fellow, one of the six Clearks in Chancery, in Mr. *Penruddocks* place; worth 2000 l. *per annum.*

20. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* much in debt before the Parliament, pay-master to the Army, and had 3 d. *per* pound allowed, besides Gratuities; worth 60000 l. and now Chancellor of the Dutchey; worth 1200 l. *per an.*

21. *Gilbert Gerrard* his second son, Cleark of the Dutchey; and for whose benefit the Cleark-ship of the Assize in *Norfolke* is granted to Mr. *Edward Garret* his Cosen by the procurement of Sir *Gilbert*, and is worth 500 l. *per annum.*

22. *John Selden*, had given him 5000 l. of which he received 2500 pound.

23. * *John Bond*, (Son to *Dennis Bond*, a Parliament-man) made Master of Trinity Hall in *Cambridge*, which Mr. *Selden* refused to accept of.

24. Sir *Benjamin Rudiard* given him 5000 l. *And hath he not deserved it?*

25. * *Lucas Hodges*, Customer of *Bristol.*

26. Sir *John Hipsly*, hath the keeping of three of the Kings Parks, *Mary-bone*-Parke, that was Mr. *Cavewes*, *Hampton*-Park, and *Bushy*-Parke, and given him 2000 l. in Money.

27. Sir *Thomas Walsingham*, the Honour of Eltham, that was the Earl of *Dorsets*, the middle Parke and house, which was Mr. *Whites*, and hath cut down 4000 Timber Trees.

28. *Benjamin Valentine*, given him 5000 l.

29. * Sir

29.* *Sir Henry Heyman*, given 5000 l.

30. *Denzell Holles*, given him 5000 l.

31.* *Nath: Bacon*, given him 3000 l.

32.* *John Steevens* given him out of the Lord *Astley's* Composition 1000 l.

33.* *Henry Smith*, made one of the six Clearks, worth 2000 l. *per annum.*

34. *Robert Renolds*, had 2000 l. given him; Besides *Abington-Hall*, and the Lands, worth 400 l. *per an.* Hath bought a good pennyworth of Bishops Lands; hath 20000 l. beyond Sea, as he made appeare upon his marriage.

35. Sir *John Clotworthy* Treasurer for *Ireland*, and by the Army charged with defrauding of the State of 40000 l. which may be one reason, the King could never get an Account of the moneyes raised for the *Irish*, though he desired it.

36. *John Ashe*, given him out of Mr. *John Coventrye's* Composition 4000 l. out of Sir *Edward Moseley's* 1000 l. out of Mr. *Edward Philip's* 1200 l. out of Sir *John Towel's* estate 3000 l. And (which is worth all this) is the great Chair-man at Goldsmiths-Hall. *Is not this better then cloathing?*

37.* *John Lenthall*, son to the Speaker, made one of the six Clearks. worth 2000 l. *per annum.*

38.* *Francis Allen* a poor Goldsmith at St. *Dunstans* in Fleet-street, now made a Customer for *London.* In honour of whom, Clipped moneyes are now called (*Allens.*)

39 *Giles Green*, the Receiver of *York-shire*, being put out of his place, got it for his Son in Law; is Chair-man for the Navy, and for Sir *Thomas Dawes* his estate, and what it was worth to him, Sir *Thomas Dawes* his Creditors will tell you; for they got nothing.

40. *Francis Pierpoint*, hath the Arch-bishop of *York's* Lands, lying in *Nottingham-shire.*

41. *William Pierpoint* hath 7000 l. given him, and all the Earl of *Kingston's* personall Estate, worth 40000 l.

42.* *John Palmer*, Mr. of *All-Souls* in *Oxford*, in Doctor *Sheldon's* place a Divine.

43.* *John Blackeston*, a poor shop-keeper in *New-Castle*, was Executor to the Executor of Sir *John Fenner*, trusted with 6000 l. for

l. for Charitable uſes, and was ſued in Chancery to performe the truſt; but got himſelf returned a Burgeſſe for *New-caſtle* by the *Scotch* Garriſon there; had 3000 l. given him out of one Gentlemans Compoſition, and out of others as much as made it up 12000l. as was made appear at a Committee before Mr. *Sandis* of the Temple Chair-man; hath alſo a Cole-meter's place worth 200 l. *per an.* and the Biſhop of *Durham's* Caſtle at *Durham*, and Lands of great value.

44. *Tho. Ceely*, long a priſoner for debt, help'd out by the Parliament, and made Recorder of *Bridgewater*.

45.* *Thomas Moore*, an Officer in the Cuſtom-houſe: And his brother, Governour of *Ludlow*.

46.* *Scawine* given him 2000 l.

47. *Iſaac Pennington*, twice broke; once Lieutenant of the Tower; a yeer and an halfe Lord Major of *London* before his time; had 7000 l. given him; and hath ſtore of Biſhops Lands.

48. *Samuel Vaſſel* given him 1000 l.

49. *Oliver Cromwell* Lieutenant Generall, hath 2500 l. *per an.* given him out of the Marqueſſe of *Worceſtors* Eſtate, for which 4000 l. *per an.* is ſet out at the rate of 2500 l.

50. Sir *William Brereton*, Collonell Generall for the *Cheſhire* Forces; hath *Caſhobery*, and other Lands of the Lord *Capel* worth 2000 l. *per an.* and the Arch-biſhops houſe and Lands at *Croiden*, where he hath turned the Chappel into a Kitchin. *A goodly Reformation, and fits with his ſtomack as wel as his Religion.*

51.* *Thomas Waite* Collonel, Governour of *Burley*, where he thrives ſo well, as he is now buying 500 l. *per an.* who before was not able to buy 5 l. a yeer.

52. Sir *Oliver Luke*, decayed in his eſtate, Collonel of Horſe.

53. Sir *Samuel Luke*, his Son, Collonel, and Scout-Maſter for the Counties of *Bedford*. &c.

54.* *Thomas Gell*, Lieutenant Collonel to Sir *John Gell*, made Recorder of *Derby*, in Maſter *Alliſtrie's* place.

55. *Valentine Walton*, Collonel, and Governour of *Lin Regis*.

56.* *Richard Norton*, Collonel Governour of *Southampton*.

57.* *Edward Harvy*, late a pore ſilk-man, now Collonel, and hath got the Biſhop of *London's* houſe and Mannor of *Fulham*.

58.* *Edward Roſſiter*, Collonel, and Generall of all the

Lin-

Lincolnſhire Forces, and Governour of *Belvoir* caſtle.

59.* Sir *Michael Lieveſey*, Collonel, Sequeſtrator, and plunder-maſter generall of *Kent*.

60.* *Henry Ireton* (ſon in Law to Lieutenant General *Cromwell*) Collonell and Commiſſary-General.

61.* *Richard Salwey*, Collonel, formerly a Groſſer's man.

62.* *John Birch*, formerly a Carrier; now a Collonel.

63.* *Thomas Rainsborough*, a Skipper of *Lin*, Collonel, Governour of *Woodſtock* and Vice-Admiral of *England*.

64.* *Robert Black*, Collonel, Governour of *Taunton*.

65.* *Francis Ruſſell*, Collonel.

66.* *Rowland Wilſon*, Collonel.

67.* *Robert Harley*, Collonel, ſon to Sir *Robert Harley*.

68.* *Richard Brown*, Major-Gen: & Governour of *Abingdon*.

69.* *Peter Temple*, Captaine of a Troop of Horſe.

70.* *John Ven* Collonel, Governour of *Windſor*, had 4000 l. given him.

71.* *Algernon Sidney*, Governour of *Dover-Caſtle*.

72.* *Richard Ingolsby*, Collonel, Governour of *Oxford*.

73.* *John Hutchinſon*, Collonel, Governour of *Nottingham*.

74.* Sir *John Palgrave*, Collonel at the ſiege of *Newark*.

75.* *Edmond Ludlowe*, Governour of Warder Caſtle.

76.* *Cornelius Holland* renteth as much of the Kings Grounds for 200 l. *per an.* as is worth 1600 l. or 1800 l. *per annum*.

77.* *Philip Skippon*, Serjant-Major-General of the Army, Major-Generall of *London*, and Governour of *Briſtol*, had 1000 l. *per an.* lands of inheritance given him.

78.* *Charles Fleetwood*, Collonel.

79.* *Thomas Weſtrow* Cap: under Sr *Michael Liveſey*, was nothing worth, until a Captain and a Parliament man; And now hath gotten the Biſhop of *Worceſters* Mannor of *Hartlerow*, which proves he hath two good and beneficial Offices.

80. *Henry Marten*, Collonel of a Regiment of Horſe, and a Regiment of whores.

81. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Collonel, once Governour of *Briſtoll*, *Thereby hangs a tayle.*

82. *Anthony Stapley*, Collonel, Governour of *Chicheſter*.

83. *Alexander Rigby*, Collonel and Governour of *Bolton*.

84. *Charles Pym*, Captain of a Troop of Horse.

85. Sir *Arthur Haslerig* Collonel, Governour of *New-castle*, and hath the Bishop of *Durham's* house, Parke, and Mannor of *Aukland*, and 6500 l. in money given him.

86. *William Iepson*, Colonel.

87. Sir *Thomas Middleton*, Major-General for *Denbigh*, and five other Counties.

88. *Godfrey Boswell*, Collonel. Governer of Northmen

89. The Lord *Gray* of Grooby, (son to the Earl of *Stamford*) Collonel; and hath given to him the Queens Manner-house, Park, and Lands at *Holdenby*, and ther's a great fall of the woods.

90. Sir *William Constable*, Collonel, Governour of *Gloceſter*, he sold his lands to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* for 25000l. and is restored to it againe by Parliament.

91. Sir *William Purefoy*, Colonel, and Governour of *Coventry*, fought resolutely against the crosse in the Market-place at *Warwick*, and against the Ancient Monuments in the Earls Chappel in Saint *Maries* Church there; for which he had 1500 l. given him; but when he should have fought with the Enemy, hid himself in a Barley-field, for which a Water-man at Temple-staires, (that had been his Souldier) refused to carry him.

92. Sir *Edward Hungerford*, Colonel, famous for plundering *Warder Castle*; hath the Lands of the Countesse *Dowager* of *Rutland*; worth 1500l. *per an.* and she allowed but 500l.

93. *Harbert Morley*, Colonel, Plunder-Master of *Surrey*.

94. *John Moore*, Colonel of the Guards, and for some time had the benefit of Passes out of *London*.

95. *Walter Long*, Colonel, had 5000 l. and the Office of Register for 4 years.

96. Sir *William Waller*, Generall, and lost 2 Armies, yet a gainer by the employment.

97. *John Allured*, Colonel.

98. *Michael Oldsworth*, no Colonel; but Governour of *Pembrooke* and *Montgomery*, and hath a share with his Lord out of Sir *Henry Compton's* Office; worth 3000l. *per an.* and is Keeper of *Windsor Parke*.

99. *Tho: Scot*, a Brewers Clerke formerly, hath the Bishops House at *Lambeth*.

100. Masters

100. Maſter *Aſhhurſt*, when he went Commiſſioner into *Scotland*, had the Clerk of the Peaces place for *Lancaſhire*, and 1000*l.* in mony given him.

Beſides theſe Offices, Commands, and Gratuities; every Member of the Houſe of Commons, being in all 516. are by their own Order allowed 4*l.* *per* Week a man; which amounts to 110000*l.* *per annum*.

By the Ordinance for ſequeſtring Delinquents [1 *April*, 1643.] it was declared, *That their Eſtates ſhould go for maintenance of the Publick affaires*, and ſeverall Ordinances deſigned *Biſhops Lands for pay of* 200000*l.* *publick Debt*: Yet by this, and the following Centuries, thou ſhalt ſee how both Delinquents Eſtates and Biſhops Lands are by Members of Parliament ſhared amongſt themſelves, whilſt the 200000*l.* is unpaid, the publick affairs ſupported by unſupportable Taxes, and that *Dutch Devill Exciſe* that inſenſibly devours the poor, and will impoveriſh the rich.

Theſe are they that with *Hananiah*, *Break the wooden yoake from our necks*, (28. *Jeremiah*) and put on one of Iron; free us from a little *Ship-money* paid thrice in an Age, and impoſe as much at once for a *Monthly Tax*; quit us of the *Monopolies of Tobacco*, and ſet up *Exciſe on Bread and Beer*. The firſt eaſeth the wanton rich man, and the latter grindeth the needy and poor. Yet *theſe are thy Gods ô London!* theſe are the Idol-Calves the People have ſet up and doe worſhip: Theſe be the *Molec* to whom ye ſacrifice Sons and Servants by Troups, Regiments, and Armies, to maintain their *ſoveraignty*, *rebellion*, and *profit*.

And that theſe and other their Actions may never be queſtioned, they *His Majeſties loyall and obedient Subjects*, will alwaies *Impriſon their* KING, *continue their Army*, *perpetuate their Parliament*, and *intail their Memberſhips* (as the Prieſthood on *Levi*) *upon confiding Families*, *to furniſh them with Votes*, as Mr *Gilbert Gerrard* and his 2 Sons, *Brampton Guidon* and his 2 Sons, Sir *Robert Harley* and his 2 Sons, 3 *Fines*, 3 *Aſhes*, 4 *Stephens*, 4 *Pelhams*, 4 *Herberts*, 4 *Temples*; it were endleſſe to name the Father and the Son, Brother and Brother that fils the Houſe; they come in couples more then unclean Beaſts to the Arke: 2 *Vanes*, 2 *Puries*, 2 *Chaloners*, 2 *Bacons*, 2 *Pierponts*, 2 *Bonds*, 2 *Onſlowes*, 2 *Lenthals*, &c.

thals, &c. And that our *Eccleſiaſticks* may comply with our *Temporall Governours*, the Houſes aboliſh (as ſuperſtitious becauſe Legall) the *Convocation of learned Divines*, (regularly ſummoned by the *King's Writ*, and duly *elected by the Clergy*) and the Houſe of Commons nominates *an Aſſembly of gifted Divines* (indeed wicked *Simons*) that ſlander the godly *Onias*, (2 *Mac.* 4.) to out him of *his Prieſts place*; ſo that at this day there is not one *Aſſembly-man* but is illegally thruſt into anothers *Benefice*, a *Catalogue* of whoſe Names and Preferments expect ſhortly, and with them a view of the *Militia* and *Common-Councell-men* of *London*, obſerving what Places, Offices and Salaries they have from the Houſes of Parliament, and then thou wilt know the Reaſons of their Votes and Actions in the City.

You ſee in part what the *Grandees* have done for themſelves. Conſider after 8 years ſitting what they have done for the *people*: when amongſt all their Propoſitions to the KING *for Peace*, hardly any one reſpects the *good of the People*, but their owne *grandeur and profit*. They demand a *Militia* to keep up this *Army* upon us, which is not the Kings to give. No King of *England* ever governed by a ſtanding Army. They demand likewiſe power to *raiſe what Forces for Land and Sea, conſiſting of what Perſons they pleaſe to Preſſe; and to raiſe what Money to maintaine them out of all mens Eſtates*, to be laid on at their diſcretion, and as partially as they pleaſe, ſo that they may favour one Faction, and oppreſſe the other at pleaſure; for, ſo much the Act for the *Militia* as it is penned imports: and this is more then His Majeſty hath power to grant. The late *Militia* of *Trained Bands*, and the *Poſſe Comitatus* under *Sheriffs* (being the onely legall *Militia* of *England*) will not ſerve their turnes. It hath alwaies been the policy of *England* to truſt the *Militia* and *Sword* in one hand (*viz. the* KING's) and the *Purſe* that ſhould *pay them* in another (*viz. the* PARLIAMENTS) whereby *one Power* might bound and limit the *other*. For to put the Sword and the Purſe into one hand, is to make that hand abſolute Maſter of our Perſons and Eſtates, and ſo reduce us to abſolute ſlavery under the Arbitrary power of one man; without appeal or redreſſe. *Awake and look about you good people.*

THE END.